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THE HISTORY OF
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ENGLAND.



THE
HISTORY OF THE ROYAL
FAMILY OF ENGLAND

BY

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CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PAGE

Mary Grey—Eleanor Brandon, Countess of Westmoreland —Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby—Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland—Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox,	375-386
---	---------

CHAPTER XXV.

Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox (<i>continued</i>)—Lord Charles Stuart—The Stuarts, Earls and Dukes of Lennox —Lady Arabella Stuart,	387-398
---	---------

CHAPTER XXVI.

James V. King of Scotland—His Wives—Mary Queen of Scots,	399-413
---	---------

CHAPTER XXVII.

Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley—Mary Queen of Scots (<i>continued</i>) —James I.	414-427
--	---------

CHAPTER XXVIII.

James I. (<i>continued</i>)—Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset—George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham—Anne of Denmark,	428-439
---	---------

CHAPTER XXIX.

Henry Prince of Wales—Charles I.—Henrietta Maria of France,	440-455
--	---------

CHAPTER XXX.

Princess Elizabeth—Henry Duke of Gloucester—Mary Princess of Orange—Charles II.	456-467
--	---------

CHAPTER XXXI.

Charles II. (<i>continued</i>)—Katharine of Portugal—James Scott, Duke of Monmouth—Charles' natural Children—Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond,	468-484
---	---------

	PAGE.
CHAPTER XXXII.	
James II.—Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon—Anne Hyde, Duchess of York,	485-499
CHAPTER XXXIII.	
Mary of Modena—James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick— William III.—Mary II.	500-511
CHAPTER XXXIV.	
William and Mary (<i>continued</i>)—Queen Anne—Prince George of Denmark—Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough— Abigail Hill, Lady Masham—Prince William, Duke of Gloucester—Princess Louisa,	512-524
CHAPTER XXXV.	
Prince James Stuart—Princess Clementina Sobieski—Prince Charles Edward Stuart—Princess Louisa of Stolberg Gedern—Cardinal Prince Henry Stuart,	525-538
CHAPTER XXXVI.	
Henrietta Stuart, Duchess of Orleans—Anne de Bourbon, Queen of Sardinia—The Queen of Sardinia's Descendants,	539-553
CHAPTER XXXVII.	
Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia—Her Son Charles Louis, Elector Palatine—His Daughter Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans—The Descendants of the Duchess of Orleans,	554-569
CHAPTER XXXVIII.	
The Younger Children of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia— Princess Elizabeth, Abbess of Hervoed—Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland—Prince Maurice—Princess Louise, Abbess of Maubisson—Prince Edward—Princess Henrietta, Princess of Transylvania—Prince Philip— Sophia Electress of Hanover,	570-583
CHAPTER XXXIX.	
The Electress Sophia (<i>continued</i>)—Her Younger Sons—Her Daughter Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia,	584-591
CHAPTER XL.	
George I.—George II.—Sophia of Zelle,	592-606

PAGE.

CHAPTER XLI.

Sophia Dorothea Queen of Prussia—Her Descendants— Caroline of Anspach—Anne Princess of Orange—Her Descendants — Princess Amelia — Princess Caroline— William Duke of Cumberland,	607-620
---	---------

CHAPTER XLII.

Mary Landgravine of Hesse Cassel—Louisa Queen of Denmark —Frederic and Augusta, Prince and Princess of Wales— Augusta Duchess of Brunswick—Princesses Elizabeth and Louisa—Caroline Matilda Queen of Denmark,	621-635
--	---------

CHAPTER XLIII.

Edward Duke of York—William Duke of Gloucester—Henry Duke of Cumberland—George III.—Queen Charlotte— George III.'s Daughters,	636-649
---	---------

CHAPTER XLIV.

George IV.—Caroline of Brunswick—Frederic Duke of York—William IV.—Queen Adelaide—Edward Duke of Kent—Ernest I., King of Hanover and Duke of Cumberland,	650-664
---	---------

CHAPTER XLV.

The Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge — The Relatives of Queen Victoria—Conclusion,	665-684
--	---------

GENEALOGICAL TABLES,	685
--------------------------------	-----

INDEX TO PRINCIPAL PERSONS REFERRED TO,	686-704
---	---------

History of the Royal Family of England.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MARY GREY.—ELEANOR BRANDON, COUNTESS OF WEST-MORELAND. — MARGARET CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF DERBY.—MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.—MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX.

THE story of Mary Grey, the youngest of the three unfortunate daughters of Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, is a somewhat ludicrous, but very melancholy, parody on that of her sister Katharine. She was born in 1545, and was therefore only eight at the time of the execution of her sister Jane, and sixteen when Katharine was taken to the Tower. She, like Katharine, was a Maid of Honour to Elizabeth, and one would have supposed that under the circumstances she would have made a virtue of necessity and resigned herself to a life of celibacy, but it was not so, for in August 1565, when Mary was twenty, she was married to one Thomas Keyes. This person held the office of "Serjeant Porter" in the Queen's Palace, and was a widower and considerably older than his second wife. He seems however to have held rank as a gentleman, and indeed is said to have been distantly connected with the Queen through some of her Boleyn kindred. The parties seem to have acted with great simplicity, for the marriage was celebrated without any special privacy in Mr Keyes' apartments in the Palace, and in the presence of quite a number of persons holding minor appointments in the household, all of whom were subsequently arrested, interrogated, and otherwise subjected to serious inconvenience.

The publicity of the marriage caused it to be at once known to the Queen, but it had at least this advantage, that

though the officiating clergyman, happily for himself, escaped, no one could or did deny its validity. There was, of course, a storm of indignation, but also of ridicule, for Mary, whose sisters Jane and Katharine had been remarkably small women, was herself almost a dwarf, whereas Keyes' was a very big man.

Cecil in a letter says, "The Serjeant Porter being the biggest gentleman in this Court hath married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the Court."

Keyes was immediately arrested and sent as a prisoner to the Fleet prison, where he remained a prisoner till 1571, a period of six years, his imprisonment being aggravated by what seems to have been exceptionally harsh treatment. In that year, being in a dying condition, he was set at liberty with permission to go to his native county, Kent, but he died on the way there at Lewisham. His widow seems to have grieved deeply for his loss, though their acquaintance, at all events, after marriage was extremely brief.

Poor Mary was never sent to the Tower, but was harried about from house to house, or rather from gaol to gaol, for the most part of her remaining life. She was successively under the charge of Mr. William Hawtree, of the Duchess Dowager of Suffolk (the fourth wife and surviving widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who appears to have treated her with extreme insolence and harshness), and of Sir Thomas Gresham, who speaks of Mary as Lady Gresham's "Bondiage and harte sorrow."

After the death of Keyes, Mary was set at liberty, but was left in an almost penniless condition. She ultimately found a refuge as a dependent in the house of her step-father Adrian Stokes. She died on the 20th of April 1578, aged thirty-three, and it does not appear where she is buried.

As far as can be collected, Mary Grey was a good-natured and rather silly little woman, but she seems to have had a taste for reading, for at her death she had collected a number of books, chiefly of a dismally religious character, unusually large for the period, and for a private person of very

straitened means. I may note that in her later years, notwithstanding her great poverty, Mary Grey thought it necessary or expedient to propitiate her august relative the Queen with a variety of gifts of gloves, gold buttons, and the like.

I think I have said enough to show that if Queen Mary cut off Jane Grey's head, Queen Elizabeth would on the whole have been more merciful if she had done the same by Jane's sisters Katharine and Mary, than she in fact was.

King Henry VIII.'s sister Mary had by her second husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, two daughters, Frances (of whom and her children I have already spoken), and Eleanor Brandon, of whom and her daughter Margaret Clifford I must now say a few words.

The exact date of Eleanor Brandon's birth is not known, but in 1537 she was married to Henry Clifford, eldest son of the first Earl of Cumberland of that family, who, on his father's death in 1542, became himself second Earl of Cumberland. Eleanor's married life was short, for she died in 1545, shortly before the death of Henry VIII., leaving an only child Margaret, who, though she did not inherit her father's honours, did inherit the very doubtful distinction of being great niece to King Henry, and first cousin once removed to his daughter Elizabeth. Lord Cumberland married again, and through his second wife the earldom was continued in the Cliffords till 1641 (temp. Charles I.), when that branch of the family became extinct.

Margaret Clifford was born in 1540, and in the reign of Queen Mary she was brought to Court, and in 1555 she married Henry Stanley, Lord Strange, who was the eldest son and heir of the Earl of Derby, and who in 1572 became himself fourth Earl of Derby of his family. It may be noted that Queen Mary did not share the prejudice of her sister against marriages by her relatives on the Royal side, and Margaret's marriage was solemnized at Court with much splendour in the presence of King Philip, Mary herself being ill at the time.

The marriage of Lord Derby and Margaret was a very unhappy one, the former appearing to have been a man of dissolute and extravagant habits; and Margaret's complaints of his behaviour were vehement and insistent. It is however fair to say that for many years after her accession, that is to say till 1580, Elizabeth appears to have regarded Margaret with some favour, and to have at least on one occasion interposed on her side in the matrimonial disputes between Margaret and her husband. In 1580, however, the Countess of Cumberland, as she then was, was charged in conjunction with certain of her servants with conspiring to conduce the Queen's death by means of magical practice. The charge was made by one Randall, a quack doctor, who had been in the Countess' employment, but as it was made under at all events *threats* of torture its original absurdity becomes glaring. Lady Cumberland was allowed no form of trial, and was kept imprisoned for at all events seven years, when she was released in or after the year 1587, at the instance of Sir Christopher Hatton. She was allowed to spend the last nine years of her life in some poverty and great retirement at Isleworth. She died in 1596, aged fifty-six, and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Her story is a little mysterious. It is difficult to suppose that her imprisonment had any reference to her position under Henry VIII.'s will, which failing the heirs of Frances Brandon had limited the Crown to her; for at the date of her disgrace she had had six children, several of whom were living and at large, and to these children any rights she might have had would have passed. Her husband remained in considerable favour at Court all through her confinement and until his death in 1593, three years before her own, but there is not any reason to suppose that Elizabeth regarded him (in 1580 he was thirty-nine) with any such special favour as would have made it desirable to keep his wife out of the way. Therefore one can only suppose that the Queen, who was decidedly superstitious, really did believe in the "magical arts."

I do not think it necessary to enter into any details as to

Lady Cumberland's family, for in fact the Stanleys, though no doubt great men, were never concerned in any question concerning the Royal succession or regarded as being in any way members of the Royal family. I will only say that two of her sons, Ferdinand and William, were successively Earls of Derby, and that the earldom was held by Margaret's descendants till the reign of George II., when the male line of that branch of the Stanley family became extinct and the earldom passed to a collateral branch from which the present Earl of Derby is descended, but which does not claim descent from Margaret Clifford. (See Table XIV.)

Margaret Clifford is the last of the descendants of Henry VIII.'s younger sister Mary of whom I think it necessary to speak in any detail, and therefore I now return to that King's elder sister Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland.

That lady had of immediate descendants who survived infancy two children, James Stuart, afterwards James V. of Scotland, and Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox ; three grandchildren, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, only child of James V., Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of Margaret Douglas, who married his cousin Mary Queen of Scots, and his brother Charles Stuart ; and two great grandchildren, James Stuart, only child of Mary Queen of Scots and of Darnley, who afterwards became James VI. of Scotland and James I. of Great Britain, and Arabella Stuart, only child of Charles Stuart, who died without issue. (See Table XIV.) All these personages played so great a part in the history of their times that their story is probably well known to the generality of readers.

Margaret Tudor herself, from the date of her marriage in August 1503 until the date of her death in 1541, with the exception of one short interval of about two years (1515-17), when she was in England, lived in Scotland ; and from the death of her first husband in September 1513 until her son assumed the reins of Government, about the year 1527, her history may be said to be the history of Scotland. Scotland during that period was rent by the disturbances occasioned by

a kind of triangular duel for power between three persons, Margaret herself, her second husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, and John Stuart, Duke of Albany. This John Stuart was the eldest son of Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany, who was the second son of King James II. of Scotland and brother of James III. Duke John was therefore first cousin to James IV., and he was heir presumptive to the Throne in the event of James IV.'s only surviving child, James V., dying without issue, an event which for many years was a not improbable contingency.

Margaret was an extremely able woman, or perhaps it would be more correct to say a woman of great cunning and duplicity. She possessed more than the ordinary share of personal courage and resource in moments of danger, and she might have attained to great power but for two defects in her character. She was absolutely untrustworthy and very licentious.

In a general way it may be said that almost from the date of her first going into Scotland, and at all events from the death of James IV., she habitually and consistently betrayed the country of her adoption to that country's greatest enemy, Henry VIII. of England; and she did this from no love of her native land, but simply from greed of money—her demands for pecuniary assistance from her brother as the reward of her services having been made with the persistence and unblushing effrontery of a professional spy. (See Mrs Everett Green's "Princesses of England" and Miss Strickland's "Scottish Queens and English Princesses.") This was practically known to the Scotch, who, though she attained to some degree of popularity, always distrusted her, nor was she really trusted by Henry or his ministers, who had good reason to know that information obtained from her could only be relied on if and so long as it was to her personal interest to give such information correctly.

Inasmuch, however, as the Scotch nobility were at this time for the most part as venal and treacherous a body as has ever existed, Margaret's double dealing was taken much as a

matter of course, and would not have stood very much in her way had she been of decent personal character, but she was not. Her marriages, divorces, and love affairs were felt to be a national scandal in the case of a woman who aspired to be, and was from time to time, Queen Regent of Scotland.

Margaret was the second child and eldest daughter of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, and was born on the 29th of November 1489, and she married James IV. of Scotland on the 8th of August 1503. James IV. (who was Margaret's distant cousin, being descended from Joanna Beaufort, wife of James I.,—see Table XI.) at the date of the marriage was just turned thirty, and Margaret had not completed her fourteenth year. As is well known James IV. was killed at the Battle of Flodden ten years later, in September 1513, and there is little to be said of Margaret during his life. James was a notoriously unfaithful husband, but he seems to have treated Margaret with much civility and good-humoured kindness, and she bore him seven children, who were born in rapid succession, the youngest not being born till the 13th of April 1514, seven months after his death. Of these children all but one, James, who was born on the 15th of April 1512, died as infants.

On the 6th of August 1514, little over three months after the birth of her posthumous child, and within twelve months of her first husband's death, Margaret privately married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, and with this marriage the misfortunes of her life commenced. This Douglas was the grandson of the celebrated "Bell-the-Cat," fifth Earl of Angus, who was killed at the Battle of Flodden, and he had but recently succeeded to his grandfather's honours as sixth Earl. He was a young man of nineteen—it is said very handsome, and certainly extremely fierce, savage, and treacherous. It is tolerably certain that he married the Queen mainly at her instance (she was for the time madly in love with him) and at the instance of his own relatives, who regarded a marriage with the Queen Regent, as she then was, as a desirable political move. It is certain that almost immediately after the marriage Angus and Margaret began to quarrel,

and that within a year or two their quarrels had ripened into an intense and bitter personal hatred which continued throughout their lives. Margaret may be said to have set the example to her brother in the matter of divorces, for at a very early stage of affairs she commenced proceedings at Rome to get rid of her second husband. These, however, were opposed by Angus himself, who had a strong eye to the Queen's dower lands, and of all persons in the world by Henry VIII., who, proficient as he afterwards became in the matter of divorces, regarded his sister's proceedings with great disfavour. He not only used his utmost efforts at Rome to thwart her plans, but wrote to her a series of letters as to the duties of married life of a highly instructive and edifying character. Margaret, however, persisted, and ultimately Angus having been induced to consent, the divorce was granted in Rome in 1527, and afterwards confirmed by the Ecclesiastical Courts in Edinburgh. The divorce was granted on the ground of a pre-contract of marriage by Angus, but in the judgment pronounced by the Scotch Courts, Margaret's daughter by Angus was declared legitimate on the ground that the Queen had married in good faith. I may here remark that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a pre-contract of marriage (which was then a canonical bar to marriage with another person) had become a more fashionable plea for dissolution of marriage than consanguinity, and it is needless to say that such a plea admitted of fraud even more than that which had been previously more common. Personally I regard the whole proceedings as to Margaret's divorce as collusive, which opinion is confirmed by the fact that on her deathbed Margaret solemnly declared that notwithstanding the divorce she regarded herself as being still the lawful wife of Angus. During the thirteen years in which Queen Margaret was nominally the wife of Lord Angus, her conduct gave considerable scope for comment.

She is said, either truly or falsely, to have been far too intimate with the Duke of Albany, whom notwithstanding

that he was a married man she seems to have had some fleeting ideas of some day marrying herself; and for some years before 1527 she had caused great scandal not only in Scotland, but also in England, by carrying about with her everywhere a very young man named Henry Stuart, who was a member of one of the junior branches of that great family. This person she married in 1528, almost immediately after the divorce from Angus was granted in December 1527, Margaret being at that time in her thirty-ninth year. King James V., who was then nearly sixteen, was very angry, and Stuart was for a short time imprisoned, but through Margaret's influence he was speedily released and created Lord Methven. The Queen, however, appears to have grown tired of him almost as soon as of Angus, and she made various attempts to get a fresh divorce. She was however growing old for those days, and her son had seized the reins of Government, and was tired of the continual squabblings about his mother's love affairs. Consequently he opposed his authority to her later schemes for divorce in such a manner as effectually to render them abortive.

Margaret's later years were passed in comparative obscurity, and she died in October 1541 in her fifty-second year. She is buried at Perth. Margaret left, so to speak, two husbands surviving, Lord Angus, who married again, and completed a very evil life in 1556 (temp. Mary), and Lord Methven, who seems to have enjoyed some favour from James V., and who also married again. The succession to the Earldom of Angus was in constant dispute throughout the life of Earl Archibald's daughter, Margaret Douglas, but it ultimately passed to a cousin of her father's.

Queen Margaret had seven children by James IV., of whom only one, James V., survived infancy; by Lord Angus she had a daughter Margaret Douglas, and it is said, though the fact has never been ascertained, that she had one or more children by Lord Methven, but if so, such child or children either died as infants or their fate is unknown.

With Margaret's descendants I propose to deal in the

following order. (1) Margaret Douglas, (2) her younger son Charles Stuart, (3) his daughter Arabella Stuart, (4) James V., (5) his daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, and her husband Lord Darnley, eldest son of Margaret Douglas, and (6) James VI. of Scotland, the son of Mary and Darnley, who afterwards became James I. of England.

Among Royal biographies there is hardly one which presents greater vicissitudes or which is on the whole more melancholy than that of Margaret Douglas. Her mother after her marriage with Angus was involved in great difficulties and was anxious to retire to England, which her opponents for very good reasons of their own were anxious to prevent, and which indeed they were determined to prevent by force if necessary. In this emergency the Queen acted with characteristic cunning and energy. Her confinement was imminent, and she proceeded to Linlithgow Castle and there formally "took her chamber," after the manner of great ladies of the time, to await the event. There her masculine opponents probably thought they might leave her with some security, but the next night she escaped with some of her women, and having crossed the borders she arrived at Harbottle Castle, the garrison fortress of Lord Dacre, the Lord Warden of the English Marches. Lord Dacre was at the time in immediate expectation of a Scottish invasion, and Margaret's arrival was an extreme inconvenience, but he was obliged to receive her, as she was when she arrived almost in the pangs of childbirth. At Harbottle, on the 7th of October 1515, without any of the decencies or comforts of life, such as were procurable even in those days, Margaret Douglas was born, and it may be that the absence of those very "comforts," as they were then considered, and which included an artificially darkened and extremely close room, conduced to the rapid recovery of the mother and the healthiness of the child. As soon as she recovered, and indeed about a fortnight after her delivery, the Queen proceeded to London, where she was well received, and she remained there for eighteen months. She then returned with her young daughter to Scotland, but almost

immediately after the Queen's return to Scotland Lord Angus, whose quarrels with his wife were at this time at their full height, kidnapped the child, and it does not appear that the mother and daughter ever met again. From this time till about 1530 Margaret Douglas was the constant companion of her father, and took part in as many adventures as could have been desired by the most ardent heroine of romance, but in 1530, she being then about fifteen, she was sent to England to her uncle Henry VIII., who placed her with his own daughter Mary, who was six months her senior. Margaret shared the fortunes of that Princess for several years, and during this time a very strong and constant friendship sprung up between the two young ladies which lasted throughout their lives, and which was cemented by the fact that they were both very zealous Catholics.

During the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn, Margaret was sent for to Court to act as first lady in waiting, there being in fact no other lady connected with the King who was available for the purpose. His daughter the Princess Mary would not acknowledge Anne, and his sister Mary Duchess of Suffolk was dead, and her daughters were very young. In this position a strong attachment grew up between Margaret and Lord Thomas Howard, the son of the second Duke of Norfolk of the Howards by his second wife, Agnes Tylney, and consequently half brother to Queen Anne's mother, Lady Elizabeth Boleyn, who was that Duke's daughter by his first wife. There was no disparity in age between the parties—the attachment was very strong, and there can be no doubt that Anne, who wished to strengthen her family connections, promoted the attachment, and that Henry himself winked at it. Consequently it is said to have resulted in a private marriage, though this was afterwards denied by Margaret herself. After the fall of Anne, Henry proceeded to wreak his wrath on all her relatives, and Thomas Howard and Margaret were sent to the Tower, whence the latter was transferred to the Convent of Sion Abbey at Isleworth, the nuns of which seem to have followed the King's religious opinions

exactly, and to have made themselves very useful by acting as gaolers to such ladies as gave him trouble. There was no possible reason in law or otherwise why these two young persons, Howard and Margaret Douglas, should not have got married if they wished, and it may be remarked that Margaret Douglas was in no way Henry's subject. Nevertheless the King, having first sent them to the Tower, caused the Act of Parliament which has already been quoted to be passed, making it high treason to marry the King's niece, and which also it may be mentioned made it high treason for the King's niece to marry any one without the King's consent.

Their imprisonment commenced in August 1536, and in October 1537 Lord Thomas Howard died in the Tower of intermittent fever, or according to his illustrious nephew, the poet Earl of Surrey, of love. Four days after his death Margaret was haled out of prison to act as one of the chief mourners at the funeral of Queen Jane Seymour, in the ceremonial for which she is described as the "Lady Margaret Howard the King's niece," which seems to prove the point which has been questioned, namely, that she had been actually married. Margaret Douglas acted as chief lady in waiting to Henry's three subsequent wives, and during the brief ascendancy of Katharine Howard, was again in trouble owing to a proposed marriage, or at all events to a flirtation between her and Edmund Howard, a brother of that Queen. After Katharine Howard's fall Margaret was again sent to Sion Abbey, where she received a severe scolding from Cranmer, but neither she nor Edmund Howard seem to have held very strongly to the proposed alliance, the idea of which was immediately abandoned. I must resume her history in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXV.

MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX (*continued*).

LORD CHARLES STUART.—THE STUARTS, EARLS AND
DUKES OF LENNOX.—LADY ARABELLA STUART.

AT length in 1543 it suited the plans of King Henry that his niece Margaret Douglas should marry Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and the marriage was celebrated in June, she being then in her twenty-eighth year, and the bridegroom a few years younger. It is almost impossible to follow the ramifications of the great Stuart family, or to make clear the relations which the various branches of that family bore one to another, and in any case it would require a book in itself to do so. I will here only say that the surname of Stuart, or Stewart, as it is sometimes spelt, is derived from the office of Lord High Steward of Scotland held by the ancestors of the family. The great Robert Bruce, afterwards Robert I. of Scotland, had an only son, who succeeded him as David II., and who died without issue, and several daughters, the eldest of whom, Marjory, married Walter, sixth Lord High Steward of Scotland of his family, and had by him an only son, Robert Stuart, who on the death of David II. became King Robert II. of Scotland, and from Robert II. the Stuart Sovereigns Robert III. and the six James were descended in the direct male line. The husband of Marjory Bruce had, however, many relations from, whom were descended many of the great branches of the Stuart family; and among others that of the Stuarts, Earls of Lennox, who though related to the reigning family of "Royal Stuarts" were not themselves originally of Royal descent.

The Stuarts, Earls of Lennox, were, however, of Royal

descent in this way. King James II. had four sons : (1) James, who became James III. ; (2) Alexander Duke of Albany, father of the John Stuart, Duke of Albany, to whom I have referred in speaking of Margaret Tudor, who during the minority of his cousin James V. was sometimes Regent of Scotland, and who died without issue ; and (3 and 4) two other sons who died young and without issue. James II. had also two daughters, the younger of whom appears to have died unmarried. The elder daughter, whose name is sometimes given as Mary and sometimes as Elizabeth, married as her second husband James Lord Hamilton, and had a daughter Elizabeth Hamilton, and this lady married Matthew Stuart, second Earl of Lennox, and was the grandmother of Matthew Stuart, fourth Earl of Lennox, the husband of Margaret Douglas.

It was on his descent from his grandmother Elizabeth Hamilton that Margaret's husband based a somewhat remote title to the Crown of Scotland failing issue of James V. and that Prince's cousin the Duke of Albany ; but it would be quite impossible for me to enter into the various claims to succeed to the Scottish Throne in the event of both James V. and the Duke of Albany dying childless, an event which at one time seemed possible and even probable. Nevertheless these claims were the indirect cause of most of the internal dissensions and jealousies which convulsed Scotland in the sixteenth century.

Matthew Stuart, fourth Earl of Lennox, was sent in his early youth to France, where many of his relatives, including his grandfather's brother, the famous Robert Stuart, Count d'Aubigny, had settled and had attained to great favour with the French Kings. He remained in France till after the death of James V. in 1542, when he returned to Scotland in the character of Ambassador from France, and apparently in the hope that he might effect a marriage between himself and the Queen Dowager Mary of Lorraine, and thus attain to the position of Regent of Scotland. Being disappointed in this expectation he entered into a kind of treaty with Henry VIII., which was about as discreditable to both parties as can easily

be imagined. Lennox was to marry the King's niece, whose legitimate position was to be acknowledged—he was to be appointed by Henry, by what authority goodness knows, Regent of Scotland, and he was to receive large grants of land in England. On the other hand, if he attained to the position of Regent he was to give over to the English King certain fortresses, to prevent the infant Queen of Scotland from being sent to France, and, if possible, to deliver her into the custody of King Henry, and finally he was to govern Scotland in accordance with the instructions of the English Privy Council.

It was in fulfilment of this abominable treaty that Matthew and Margaret were married. Prior to the marriage Matthew Stuart became a naturalized English subject, and amongst other lands he received a grant of the great estates of Temple Newsome in Yorkshire, which had formerly belonged to the Templars. Either by accident or design the dower lands assigned to the bride were all in Scotland, a circumstance which in part caused the great poverty from which she afterwards suffered.

The marriage was celebrated with unusual splendour, and the King took the opportunity to declare "that in case his own issue failed he should be right glad if her (Margaret's) issue succeeded to the Throne." It is well known, however, that within three years for some not very clear reason Henry by his will sought to exclude Margaret and her descendants from their place in the succession.

Within a few days after the marriage Henry VIII. started on his last expedition against France, and Lennox was sent as the Commander of the English forces in that desultory war which was for some years maintained against Scotland, and it may here be said that throughout his life Lennox seems to have regarded Scotland with hostility, and to have treated the Scotch who fell into his hands with extreme harshness and cruelty.

On the accession of Edward VI., Lennox was re-appointed by the Protector Somerset as one of the English leaders against Scotland, and he then committed an act of cruelty

for which I am glad to say he is said to have suffered great remorse during the remainder of his life. He had forced certain Scotch noblemen and gentlemen to join his arms by taking as hostages their young children. These men left him, and in spite of the remonstrances of Lord Wharton, who was associated with him in command, Lennox ordered twelve young boys to be hanged and eleven actually so suffered. The twelfth, afterwards Lord Herries, was saved, concealed, and ultimately escaped, through the compassion of a common soldier, who was ordered to take part in the execution.

It was during this period that the old Earl of Angus, Margaret's father, with whom Lennox had an old standing quarrel, made overtures for a reconciliation with his son-in-law and daughter, but with little or no success, and though Margaret certainly had no great cause to love her parents, it would certainly appear that she uniformly treated her father with the utmost hostility, and this when he was an old man and apparently really anxious for a reconciliation.

Lady Lennox spent the greater part of the reign of Edward VI. in the north of England, and she was there in childbed at the time of that King's death. After the accession of Mary, Margaret was sent for to Court, and she and her young son Darnley were for a time treated with the highest possible consideration and respect. When Elizabeth succeeded the Queen, though for a time she kept up appearances in her relations with her cousin, from the first seems to have regarded her with suspicion, and from the time of Elizabeth's accession Margaret was surrounded by spies in and out of her own household, who, as the State papers show, reported to the Queen her doings and saying in the most minute detail, and as may well be believed with incriminatory exaggeration.

It was suspected, and probably with reason, that Lady Lennox was in communication with her niece Mary Queen of Scots, then living in France as Queen Consort of that country, and it is said that the young Darnley paid a private visit to the Court of France, and was secretly received by

the King and Queen. At all events when after the death of Francis II. of France Mary returned to Scotland, and successfully evaded the English ships sent to intercept her, Margaret could not conceal her exultation, and sent a private messenger to congratulate her on her escape. This being discovered the Earl and Countess of Lennox with their two sons, Darnley, then aged sixteen, and Charles, then aged about six, and their whole household were arrested at Settringham House in Yorkshire at the end of 1561, and carried as prisoners to London. Darnley by some means escaped on the journey, and for some time lay concealed, where does not appear, but Lennox was committed to the Tower, and Margaret and her younger child to the care of Sir Thomas and Lady Sackville, who were relatives of Queen Elizabeth. Lord Lennox and his wife both remained prisoners till February 1563, though after some time Margaret by urgent representations succeeded in inducing Elizabeth to allow her husband, who was ill, to share her own captivity.

It is not very easy to understand Queen Elizabeth's very tortuous policy at this time with regard to Scotland and Scotch affairs, but certainly after the liberation of the Lennox family in 1563 Lord Lennox was allowed to go to Scotland, nominally to recover for his wife the great estates of her late father the Earl of Angus, and during his absence Margaret and her son Darnley, though reduced to great poverty, were received at Court with every appearance of cordiality, and Darnley was privileged to carry the Sword of State before the Queen on the great occasion when Robert Dudley was created Earl of Leicester. In February 1565 Darnley was allowed without the smallest objection on the Queen's part to follow his father to Scotland, Margaret and her younger son at the same time going back to Yorkshire.

When some months later the news of Darnley's marriage to Mary Queen of Scots was received by Elizabeth, his mother was again arrested, and after a short interval committed to the Tower, and she there remained till after the murder of Darnley in 1567, her distress being increased by the fact that

she was not allowed the society of her younger son, who was still a young boy, and who was "boarded out" after the Queen's usual practice in regard to her relatives in disgrace. It is difficult to see upon what plea Elizabeth justified the arrest and imprisonment of the Countess of Lennox, because the Countess' son himself, a born Scotchman, thought proper to marry the Queen of Scotland—Scotland being at the time at peace with England.

Margaret was duly told of her son's death and seems to have fully believed that he had been murdered by his wife; and being sufficiently impressed by this belief, she was set at liberty, and having been joined by her husband, who had returned from Scotland, they from time to time appeared at Court, always in the character of accusers of their daughter-in-law. Nevertheless they were always kept in a state of the greatest poverty—Elizabeth having practically confiscated their English estates, and they having failed to obtain possession of their Scotch property.

Early in 1568 Lennox was allowed to return to Scotland, having given the singularly mean promise to deliver into the hands of the English Queen his young grandson, James VI., and as is well known he shortly afterwards became Regent of Scotland, and in the year 1571 he was assassinated at Stirling Castle. In the meantime his wife and younger son had remained in England virtually as hostages for his good behaviour. It would seem that Margaret heard with extreme grief of the death of her husband, to whom she was undoubtedly attached, and she has the credit of being one of the few distinguished widows of her time who did not seek immediate consolation by marrying again. If however she did not indulge in matrimonial plans for herself, she did so for her only surviving son Charles, and in 1574 that young man, then about nineteen or twenty, was with his mother's connivance married to Elizabeth Cavendish.

This young lady was the daughter of the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick," one of the greatest heiress of her time by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish; and from Sir

William and Lady Cavendish the present Duke of Devonshire is directly descended.

At the date of Elizabeth Cavendish's marriage to Charles Stuart, however, her father was dead, and her mother, "Bess of Hardwick," had already married two other husbands, and was the wife of the fourth, George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury of his family.

What imaginable offence there was in this marriage it is impossible to say, but the whole marriage party were arrested, and the two mothers, Lady Lennox and Lady Shrewsbury, were at once committed to the Tower, where they remained for some months. It may, however, well be believed that this measure was not solely caused by the marriage, for at this time Queen Elizabeth had begun to suspect that Margaret no longer believed in the guilt of Mary Stuart, in which it was of vital consequence to the Queen that everyone *should* believe. In the early years after Darnley's murder, Margaret's grief and passionate cries for vengeance against her son's supposed murderess had been of the greatest use to Elizabeth, but it was known that Margaret had entered into secret communication with the Queen of Scots, then a captive in England, and it was more than supposed that she no longer believed in her guilt. On this account Margaret became during her later years an object of extreme suspicion to the Queen, and to this cause many persons attribute her sudden death on the 9th of March 1577. On that day Lord Leicester visited her at Hackney, where she was living in great retirement and poverty, and having dined with her left her in the evening with many protestations of friendship. Immediately after his departure the Countess was taken violently ill, and she died after a few hours of extreme suffering.

Leicester's reputation as a poisoner was so great and widespread that he was almost universally believed to have murdered the Countess of Lennox. It may, however, be pointed out that at that time she was in her sixty-third year, and completely broken down in health, and that the mis-

fortunes of her life had just culminated in the death of her only surviving child, Charles Stuart. Therefore under more ordinary circumstances her death would hardly have been a matter of surprise.

In considering the question whether Mary Queen of Scots was or was not guilty of complicity in the murder of her husband Darnley, it is somewhat material to consider whether Darnley's mother, who lived at the time, and who in the first instance certainly believed in her guilt, did or did not retain that belief at her death. Upon this point I must refer my readers to the evidence collected by Miss Strickland in her life of Mary Stuart, and which seems to me to establish conclusively one of two propositions. Either Margaret did believe in Mary's innocence, and if so she must have had strong grounds for so believing, or she was guilty of extraordinary hypocrisy in her letters to Mary, letters which if they were addressed by Margaret to a woman whom she believed to have been an adulteress and the murderess of her son, must be regarded as shocking by every honest person. There was every reason why, if Margaret continued to believe in Mary's guilt she should have continued to proclaim that belief; for Margaret herself, her son Charles till his death, and his infant daughter Arabella, were absolutely in the hands of Elizabeth, whose conduct in imprisoning Mary could hardly have been justified by anyone unless Mary's guilt was believed in. On the other hand Margaret was a strong Catholic (the contemporary Protestant Bishop Jewel describes her after her first imprisonment by Elizabeth as one "who is beyond measure hostile to religion, more violent than Queen Mary herself"), and the Catholics were suffering dire persecution and looked to the accession of Mary Queen of Scots to the English Throne as their only hope. It has therefore been suggested that Margaret overcame her own feelings as a woman in the interests of religion. This suggestion seems to me personally to be extremely far fetched. (See the Life of Margaret Douglas in Miss Strickland's "Scottish Queens and English Princesses.")

Lennox and Margaret had several children, but except their second son Darnley (the eldest died as an infant) and the youngest son, Charles Stuart, these children all died as infants, and nothing certain is known of them beyond that fact—not even the dates of their births or their names.

Margaret Douglas is buried in Westminster Abbey, and her tomb close to that of Mary Queen of Scots is one of the most beautiful in the Abbey.

Charles Stuart was born about 1554 and died in 1576, aged about twenty-two, of a languishing sickness. The circumstances of his marriage with Elizabeth Cavendish (who died about the same time as himself) have been already stated, and he left an only child, the unfortunate Arabella Stuart.

On the death of his father, Charles Stuart became fifth Earl of Lennox, but after his own death the earldom passed to Robert Stuart (second son of the third Earl), who died in 1586 (temp. Elizabeth), and who was succeeded by his nephew Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny in France. This nobleman was invited to come to Scotland by James VI., who created him Duke of Lennox, and under James VI. Esmé Stuart played a great part in Scotch affairs. Ludovic Stuart, the son of this Esmé, was created by James VI. (then King of England) Duke of Richmond, and he was succeeded in the Dukedoms of Lennox and Richmond by his brother Esmé, from whom was descended in the direct line the Charles Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, who lived in the reign of Charles II., and on whose death in 1672 this branch of the Stuarts became extinct. The last Duke, who left no issue, married the celebrated Frances Stuart (who like himself was descended from one of the junior collateral branches of the great Stuart family), with whose portraits we are all familiar, and who as “la Belle Stuart” is well known to readers of the more or less scandalous chroniclers, French and English, of the reign of King Charles. She was one of the most beautiful and one of the most, if not the only, respectable “beauty” of King Charles’ Court, and she was the original of the figure of

Brittania which is to be found on the back of much of the current copper coinage.

My readers may be reminded that the descent of the Stuarts, Earls and Dukes of Lennox, from the Royal family of Scotland was extremely remote (though they bore the same surname), and was through the female line, and that they were not descended from the Royal family of England at all except through Joanna Beaufort, the wife of James I. of Scotland. These remarks, of course, do not apply to Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lennox, who was the son of Margaret Douglas and the grandson of Margaret Tudor, and who was certainly of the English Royal stock.

Charles Stuart left an only child, the Lady Arabella Stuart, who has been the subject of so many romances, historical and otherwise.

She was probably born in 1576, and was therefore about twenty-seven at the death of Elizabeth, and when her cousin King James (whose father was her father's elder brother) came to the Throne.

She was thirty-two when she married in 1609, and thirty-eight when she died in 1615, ten years before King James. Her position was peculiar and dangerous, inasmuch as failing King James and his heirs, she was the only living descendant of Margaret Tudor, elder sister of Henry VIII., and consequently heiress to the English Throne (see Table XIV.). Inasmuch as there was no serious opposition to the accession of James, and as he had several children of great promise, one would have supposed that Arabella's position in the Royal family might have been frankly conceded without any great effort of magnanimity. It would, however, appear that Elizabeth, whose jealousy of James of Scotland as her probable successor was very great, entertained some more or less shadowy ideas of superseding his claims in favour of his cousin Arabella, whom she put forward on several occasions in a manner that was calculated to cause alarm. When Elizabeth died, Arabella seems to have accepted James'

claims frankly enough, and though a plot was discovered to make her queen, it was of no great consequence, and it seems quite clear that she personally was not cognizant of it. Indeed as far as one can judge, she would probably have been more than contented with her own position if she had been allowed to marry an Englishman of rank and settle down as a great lady, nearly related to the reigning Sovereign. King James' relations with her were, however, singularly treacherous and mean. In the first instance, she was well received at Court, and it seems clear that the King at one time gave her leave to marry, provided she chose as her husband a British subject. In a letter written by Arabella herself to King James after her marriage she says, "I humbly beseech your Majesty to consider how impossible it was for me to imagine it (her marriage) could be offensive to your Majesty, your Majesty having a few days before given me your Royal consent to bestow myself on any subject of your Majesty, which likewise your Majesty had done long since." It would, however, appear that Arabella distrusted the King, for, notwithstanding his consent, her marriage though perfectly suitable was solemnized privately, and kept a secret for some time. Her husband was William Seymour, Earl of Hertfort. It will be remembered that the Earl of Hertfort, son to the Protector, Duke of Somerset, had married Lady Katharine Grey, and the Earl of Hertfort, who married Lady Arabella Stuart, was the grandson and heir of this Earl of Hertford by Katharine Grey. When the marriage between Seymour and Arabella was discovered, Seymour without the slightest pretence of legality was committed to the Tower, and Arabella was placed under the care, first of Sir Thomas Parry, and then of Sir James Crofts. Arabella and her husband appear to have allayed suspicion, and after a short interval, they separately contrived to escape. Seymour did get off to Flanders, but the unfortunate Arabella was taken prisoner on board a pinnace, where she was waiting in the downs to be joined by Seymour. She was brought back to the Tower, and she was henceforth kept in a rigorous and close confinement for the remainder

of her life. In 1612 she asked to see the Privy Council in order to make some important disclosures, but when she was in fact brought before the Council it became manifest that she had gone mad, and she seems afterwards to have lapsed into hopeless imbecility. She died in 1615, never having had a child, and she is buried in Westminster Abbey. Her husband, who married again, was afterwards restored to his rank as Earl of Hertford, and ultimately created Duke of Somerset, the title which had been borne by his ancestor the Protector.

To judge by her letters, Arabella Stuart was a lively harmless young woman, but she was probably deficient in judgment and force of character. Her misfortunes have always made her an object of much interest, and she is said to have been very beautiful, but if so, her portraits strangely belie her. (See Miss Strickland's "Scottish Queens and English Princesses.")

CHAPTER XXVI.

JAMES V. KING OF SCOTLAND.—HIS WIVES.—MARY
QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

I HAVE said that Margaret Tudor, the eldest sister of Henry VIII., had only two children who survived infancy, James V. of Scotland by her first husband James IV., and Margaret Douglas, of whom I have already spoken at some length.

In accordance with the plan mentioned in a previous chapter, I now revert to James V.

The history of Scotland, at all times melancholy and depressing reading, is at no time more so than during the reign of this unhappy King, and it is almost impossible, and it would not be particularly useful to fix in one's mind, the details of the domestic feuds which rent Scotland during his life, and of the contests for power which arose upon the death of James IV. between the Queen mother and the great Scotch nobles. All these nobles, as I have already said, were more or less connected with the Royal family, and many of them had more or less shadowy claims to the Throne in the event of the death without issue of the young Sovereign.

In England the long Wars of the Roses had resulted in the humiliation and deprivation from power of the nobility and the great aggrandisement of the Sovereigns; and in England the Reformation had brought about for a time the almost complete extinction of the power of the Clergy. Similar causes had produced like results in most of the European States, but in Scotland during the reign of James V. matters were very different. The nobles, at all times immensely powerful, had, owing to many causes which it is

unnecessary to enter into here, attained to almost overwhelming authority, and it is admitted by all writers that they were at this time as wicked and treacherous a body of men as ever existed. On the other hand the Reformation, though favoured by most of the nobility, had not yet made great progress in Scotland; and James V. opposed from conscientious motives to the new doctrines, and utterly unable alone to cope with the nobles, threw himself into the arms of the Clergy, who, under the leadership of Cardinal Beaton, still retained a large share of influence. Thus, during this reign the real contest was not so much between the King and the nobles, as it at first sight appears to be, as between the Catholic Church and the supporters of the Reformation, and into the details of this contest I am not called upon to enter.

James V. himself is a most interesting personality. Singularly handsome and graceful, he possessed more than his full share of that charm of manner which distinguished nearly all his family, and he seems to have won the enthusiastic affection of all who were brought into immediate contact with him, and upon whom he was able to exercise his personal influence. This was especially the case with the peasantry, with whom he mingled with an affability and familiarity which was very unusual on the part of persons of rank, and by whom he was so much beloved that he won for himself the title of "King of the Commons."

His poetry, which is still extant and much quoted, though not so much read as it deserves to be, deals almost exclusively with incidents of humble life, and shows a kindly insight into and minute observation of the lives and manners of his humbler subjects which few Sovereigns in any age have possessed, or at all events displayed. His abilities were of a very high order, and his political wisdom far beyond his age, and it is probable that if he had ever attained, even for a moment, to anything like a free hand, he would have become one of the greatest Kings of his country. His difficulties, however, were overwhelming, and he never *did* attain, I

venture to think that no King under the like circumstances ever *could* have attained, to any real authority. When his father was killed at the Battle of Flodden in August 1513, James, who was born in April 1512, was not yet seventeen months old; and during the early years of his reign he was virtually a prisoner in the hands of whichever of the rival competitors for the Regency happened for the time being to be in the ascendancy. Consequently he was bandied about from hand to hand, and hurried from castle to castle in a way that is bewildering to read of. When in 1528 he, then a boy of sixteen, by the exercise of remarkable shrewdness, and firmness succeeded in throwing off the domination of the Earl of Angus (his mother's second husband, who was then in power), James found his country impoverished and wretched to the last degree, and rent in every direction by the action of civil feuds. Moreover he found hardly a man or woman in it of influence, at all events amongst the laity, upon whose patriotism he could for an instant rely; and he found also that all the leading persons in the Kingdom, including his own mother, had virtually sold themselves to their country's greatest enemy, his mother's brother, Henry VIII. of England.

James, aided by Cardinal Beaton, who, whatever may have been his defects, must I think be admitted to have been a sincerely patriotic statesman, made strenuous efforts to put down oppression and to re-establish something like justice and order in Scotland, and with at times some partial success; but in every crisis he was met with sullen and persistent opposition from his nobles, and in every emergency he had to deal with the cruel hostility of the powerful English King.

James' constitution, never a good one, and worn out with the hardships, and it may be with the licence of his early life, speedily showed signs of giving way, and at length in 1542, in his thirty-first year, crushed by the desertion of the nobles at Solway Moss, and the simultaneous death of his two infant sons, he died at Falkland, not as far as appears of any distinct illness or disease, but it may be said truly of a broken heart. He was buried at Holyhead,

King James in his youth led an extremely loose life, and became the father of numerous bastard children, prominent amongst whom was the notorious James Stuart, Earl of Murray, sometime Regent of Scotland, whose mother Lady Douglas is the "Lady of Loch Leven" well known to novel readers in the pages of Sir Walter Scott's "Abbot."

The history of King James' matrimonial treaties would fill a book, for so great was the struggle between the great European powers that the competition for his alliance in marriage—not, one would have supposed, of very vital importance—was vehement and not a little ludicrous in its details. Charles V. of Germany and Spain, Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England vied with one another in proffering for James' acceptance all the ladies of their respective families possible, or as one might have thought impossible, but he ultimately married as his first wife Magdalene, eldest surviving daughter of Francis I. by that King's first wife Claude, daughter of Louis XII. of France.

The story of this marriage is as pretty and idyllic as any to be found in the annals of Royal marriages. The Queen mother, Margaret, and those of the Scotch lords who were in English pay, strongly favoured an English alliance with the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary of England, but the King himself, supported by the Clergy and the common people, preferred a French marriage. At an early stage of affairs King James proposed to marry Magdalene and the offer was accepted with enthusiasm, but as she approached her womanhood, the young lady developed such unmistakable signs of consumption that her life was despaired of, and it was judged unsuitable for her to marry at all. Thereupon the French King offered to substitute for his daughter his relative Marie de Vendôme, daughter of the Duke and Duchess de Vendôme, on whom Francis proposed to confer the rank and dowry of a "daughter of France." Accordingly a secret treaty for the marriage of James and Marie de Vendôme was entered into, and a portion of the lady's dowry was paid in advance. King James, however, in whose temperament

there was a large admixture of the romantic element, wished to see his future wife for himself, and he set out, not without considerable difficulties from the nobles, on a secret expedition to France, and presented himself in the guise of a manservant at the Chateau of Vendôme, where his betrothed wife was living with her parents. His secret, however, was not well kept, and he was immediately recognised with effusion; and for some days he made himself so agreeable to his betrothed wife that the lady is said to have fallen desperately in love with him, and to have subsequently died of a broken heart consequent on his desertion. The broken heart is problematical, but her death soon after, and as an unmarried woman, is certain. From Vendôme King James proceeded to Lyons where the French King was living, and he there saw—it is said in the first instance, he being in disguise—the Princess Magdalene, who, though generally regarded as being, and who was in fact, at death's door, was by universal testimony extremely lovely. The King and the Princess fell in love at first sight. The claims of Mademoiselle de Vendôme were cast to the winds. The King declined to marry anyone but the Princess Magdalene, and under the influence of love the young lady so far recovered her health that her father and her physicians reluctantly consented to a marriage, which was celebrated with extraordinary splendour at Notre Dame in Paris on the 1st of January 1537. Some months later the young King and Queen set sail for Scotland (Henry VIII. with his usual discourtesy having refused them a safe conduct through England), and they landed at Leith on the 19th of May. Exactly forty days later Magdalene, whose apparent recovery had begun to fail almost from the date of her marriage, died of consumption in her seventeenth year. She was buried at Holyrood. It is said that King James, though he subsequently married again and became, as it would appear, sincerely attached to his second wife, never entirely recovered the loss of this young girl, for whom he seems to have felt a passion more commonly credited to Southern than to Scottish natures; and the young Magdalene by her beauty

and the pathos of her circumstances during the brief period of her life in Scotland made an impression on the Scotch nation, which has never been entirely effaced. (See Miss Strickland's "*Scottish Queens and English Princesses.*")

King James at the date of his first wife's death was in his twenty-sixth year, and the necessity for providing a direct heir to the Throne was so great that he was immediately and urgently pressed to marry again, and the lady selected for his second wife was Mary of Lorraine, the widowed Duchess of Longueville, a French lady whom, though she was of somewhat inferior rank either to the Princess of Vendôme or to the Princess Magdalene, Francis I. agreed to adopt and portion as his daughter. Mary of Lorraine was the eldest daughter of Claud of Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, and her father claimed descent both from Charlemagne and from the Royal family of France. He had been a cadet of the family of the Duke of Lorraine, and had for his distinguished military services been created Duke of Guise, and he had married a daughter (Mary's mother) of the Duke of Gueldres, whose family had given a Queen to Scotland, Mary of Gueldres, wife of James II., so that James V. and his second Consort were remotely related.

Mary was the eldest of a very large family, and two of her brothers, Francis le Balafré, second Duke of Guise, and Charles of Lorraine, known as the Cardinal of Lorraine, were destined, as the leaders of the Catholic party in France, to obtain great influence in European politics, and in particular over the mind of their niece Mary Queen of Scots, whose strong attachment to France and French interests was largely attributed to them.

Mary of Lorraine, who was born in 1515, was married in 1534 to Louis Duke of Longueville, who was the descendant and representative of the celebrated Dunois, illegitimate nephew of Charles VI. of France. It is said that Mary and her first husband were present at the wedding of James V. and Magdalene of France, and it has been hinted that notwithstanding his affection for the French Princess, James

was on that occasion somewhat impressed with the charms of the Duchess of Longueville, which would seem to have been considerable. The Duke of Longueville died on the 9th of June 1537 within a few weeks of the death of Magdalene of France, leaving his wife the mother of one child and pregnant with another. Such, however, was the urgency of Sovereigns in the sixteenth century to dispose in marriage of the ladies of their kindred, that Mary was not allowed to bring forth her posthumous child in peace before it was intimated to her that she must make her preparations for a speedy second marriage, the choice of suitors being Henry VIII. of England, who had then recently lost his third wife, Jane Seymour, and his nephew James V. of Scotland. Mary does not appear to have been at all anxious for a second marriage, but under the circumstances she naturally evinced a strong preference for the Scottish King, a preference which King Henry greatly resented and endeavoured to punish in subsequent years by the exhibition of much petty spite against the Queen of Scotland personally as well as politically. Accordingly, though he was nominally at peace with Scotland, he refused the lady a safe conduct through England, and Mary had therefore to undertake what in those days was a long and dangerous sea journey in order to reach Scotland, where she arrived in June 1538. She was immediately married to the King, a little more than twelve months after the death of her first husband, and a little less than twelve months after the death of Queen Magdalene. At the date of the marriage King James was in his twenty-seventh and Mary in her twenty-third year. The marriage appears to have been a happy one, and the Queen rapidly gave birth to two sons, whose sudden and almost simultaneous death in 1542 was the culminating point of her husband's misfortunes, and may be said to have been the immediate cause of his own death. On the 8th of December in that year, eight days before the death of King James, Queen Margaret gave birth to her third child, afterwards the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots. Mary of Lorraine, thus left a widow, was immediately called upon to

assume the Regency of a country to which she was a foreigner, at a time when the fortunes of that country, alike from external invasion and internal dissension, had reached their very lowest ebb. From that date, December 1542, until her own death in May 1560, a period of eighteen years, the history of Mary of Lorraine is the history of Scotland. Separated at an early age from her young daughter, she carried on the struggle on behalf of that daughter with a wisdom, prudence and courage which even in her own day commanded the admiration of her enemies, and in later years has been almost universally acknowledged. Herself singularly religious, she was remarkable amongst all the Sovereigns of the sixteenth century for the clemency and tolerance of her conduct towards her religious opponents; and even the malice of Knox, the great apostle of the Reformation in the North, could not, though he exercised it to the full, invent a calumny which could or did obtain credence from any reasonable being.

Shortly before her death Mary, then sinking under the fatal disease of which she died, was besieged by the Lords of the Congregation in the town of Leith, which she defended with the aid of a small body of half-starved French soldiers, and on that occasion she displayed wonderful courage and capacity. The besiegers were driven back with great loss and humiliation, and the Queen made a triumphant entry into Edinburgh.

Throckmorton, the English Ambassador, writing at that time to Cecil, says, "For the love of God provide by some means or other that the Queen Dowager were rid from thence (Edinburgh), for she hath the heart of a man of war." When this letter was being written, however, the Queen was actually dying of dropsy, and she expired at Edinburgh Castle in 1560. Queen Elizabeth, afterwards the betrayer of her daughter, was in the later years of Mary of Lorraine that Queen's most bitter enemy, opposing her sometimes by force of arms, but more often by treacherous intrigue; and I, myself, believe that, bad as were the Scotch nobles, and unfortunate as were the internal dissensions of the country,

Scotland, under the rule of its French Regent, would have had a fair prospect of ultimate peace and prosperity if it had not been for the insidious and ceaseless machinations of the English Rulers, firstly Henry VIII., then the Protector Somerset, and lastly Elizabeth.

Englishmen have much to be proud of in their history, but they have also much to be ashamed of, and I cannot conceive how any Englishman can read the history of the dealings of his country with Scotland in the sixteenth century without a feeling of profound mortification and disgrace.

The body of Mary of Lorraine was carried to France, and she was buried at Rheims. Her two sons by her first husband died, the youngest shortly after his birth, and before her second marriage; and the other as a youth of sixteen during a short visit the Queen paid to France, so that she had the consolation of being with him at his death.

Mary Stuart, the only child who survived infancy of James V. of Scotland, was born on the 8th of December 1542, and was eight days old when her father died. She had just completed her fourth year at the death of Henry VIII. in January 1547; she was in her eleventh year at the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary in 1553; in her sixteenth year at the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, and she had completed her forty-fifth year when she was beheaded in February 1587. Henry VIII. was her great uncle, being the brother of her father's mother, and his three children, Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth were her first cousins once removed. She was nine years younger than Elizabeth, and if, as was commonly thought by Catholics at the time, that Princess was illegitimate, Mary, as the only child of the only son of Henry VIII.'s eldest sister, was, notwithstanding the actual accession of Elizabeth, lawful heiress to the English Throne. This fact made Mary at all times the object of a peculiarly bitter and vindictive jealousy in the mind of her English cousin—a jealousy which was inflamed by personal considerations, for Elizabeth had the mortifying knowledge that the rival Queen, with whom she was almost necessarily brought into frequent

contrast, was not only a much younger, but a much more beautiful and attractive woman than herself.

It is saying a good deal, but it is the fact, that in the whole range of history there is no person whose character has been the subject of so much bitter and acrimonious discussion as Mary Stuart.

There is no virtue, however sublime, and there is no vice however atrocious, which is not attributed to her. There is no event in her life which has not been the subject of reams of controversy. In her own time she excited in her many friends a degree of intense and sustained devotion, and in her many enemies a degree of malignant and persistent hatred, such as it has been the lot of but few persons to excite in anyone, and the echo of these feelings, so vehement in her own time, is to be heard at the present day. Even now, in the twentieth century, one sometimes meets persons who appear to regard the fair name and fame of Mary Stuart as if it were a personal question, affecting the honour of themselves and their families. Some of these persons seem to resent a word of blame uttered against her almost as a personal insult, while there are other persons so firmly convinced of Mary's infamy that they regard any man who attempts to defend her as little better than a fool whom it is impossible to treat seriously.

One has not far to go to account for these strong feelings.

It was from a variety of motives the settled policy of Elizabeth and her Ministers to vilify the Scottish Queen and to represent her in the most odious light, and they carried out this policy with the utter unscrupulosity and singular ability for which they were remarkable. On the other hand, it was to the interest of every enemy of Elizabeth's Government (and her enemies, personal and political, were many and formidable) to uphold the innocence of the Scottish Queen, and to represent her as the victim of injustice and oppression.

Mary was the great—almost the only hope—of the sorely persecuted Catholics of Great Britain, and Catholics throughout the world were naturally inclined to attribute to her all

good qualities ; but Mary's possible accession to the English Throne was a constant terror to the Protestants, who spared no effort to prevent it. Consequently she, more than any other person we know of, became, and she has remained, the subject of religious controversy—a controversy more bitter than any other, and as the result Mary became the object of perhaps undue praise from Catholic writers, while the Reformers Knox, Buchanan and the rest, and their successors, have covered her with such foul and disgusting abuse as has rarely been applied to any other human being.

Lastly, Mary possessed in a pre-eminent degree all those qualities which are proper to a subject of romance.

It is admitted by all that she was extremely beautiful. It is also admitted that she carried herself on all occasions when she appeared in public with a mixture of queenly dignity and womanly sweetness, or, as some say, womanly seduction, which compelled the admiration even of her most bitter foes. Her authentic letters, and the accounts we have of her conversations, show that she possessed a large measure of ability, and of what the French call *esprit*. In moments of danger she showed remarkable courage, and lastly, she possessed in a peculiar degree that quality which is to be found in almost every member of her race, namely, the power of attracting and binding to herself with an almost passionate affection all those persons, women as well as men, who were for any length of time subjected to her personal influence. Thus in every stage of her fortunes, on the Throne as well as in her most dismal prisons, there were invariably to be found men and women of all ages and all ranks who, starting sometimes with a strong prejudice against her, were ultimately willing to sacrifice liberty and fortune—nay, life itself—in her cause. These are qualities which peculiarly appeal to romancers and poets, and there is no woman who ever lived who has been the subject of more poems and novels than Mary ; but it is the privilege of romancers and poets to exaggerate the qualities of those historic persons of whom they treat, and thus, while on the one hand Mary Stuart is

sometimes represented as little short of an Angel of Light, on the other she is represented as a beautiful demon, concealing under the brilliancy of her wit and the grace of her manners monstrous passions of cruelty and lust.

Mary's name is associated with three men, Chastelar, Rizzio and Bothwell, who are all said to have been her lovers. Chastelar was a crazy poet who fell in love with her, and made his passion conspicuous and ridiculous, and who, instead of being sent to a lunatic asylum, was put to a somewhat cruel death while Mary was still reigning Queen of Scotland.

Rizzio was an elderly and unattractive Italian of considerable ability, who became her secretary and enjoyed her confidence, and who was brutally murdered in her presence by her husband Darnley, with the assistance or connivance of the nobles, who afterwards were themselves parties to the murder of Darnley himself.

Bothwell became her husband after Darnley's murder.

It seems to me that many persons argue about these three men in a vicious circle. They say in effect, "Mary's conduct with Bothwell shows that she was an abandoned woman, and an abandoned woman like that was sure to go wrong with any man she was thrown with. Therefore we may safely assume that she did go wrong with Chastelar and Rizzio," but when her relations with Bothwell are in question they answer, "How is it possible to suppose that they were innocent, having regard to her previous conduct with Chastelar and Rizzio?"

For myself I freely admit that there is much to be said in favour of the view of her guilty relations with Bothwell, but I confess I cannot see how any reasonable and unbiased mind can really study the evidence and fail to be satisfied that her intercourse with the other two men was perfectly innocent.

Having said so much I may as well go on and say once for all what I believe as to the character of this very celebrated person. I believe her to have been a very clever and very charming woman, with many virtues and many faults, naturally gay and lighthearted, impulsive, eager, easily per-

suaded, and at times indiscreet ; but I also firmly believe her to have been in the conventional sense of the word a perfectly "virtuous" woman. I believe that her relations with Bothwell before Darnley's murder were innocent, if perhaps indiscreet, and that she was in no way a party to Darnley's death ; and that her subsequent marriage with Bothwell was forced upon her under circumstances which no woman, not a heroine, could have resisted. There are, however, circumstances in which not to be heroic is to be criminal ; and I think Mary, in allowing herself under *any* circumstances to call herself Bothwell's wife, committed a fault which was in truth a crime. For this crime she suffered a lifelong punishment—a punishment which she bore with so much dignity and resignation that I believe that before her death she had in truth merited the title of Saint.

These are personal opinions, and as it would be impossible in a work of this kind to enter into the arguments and narrate the evidence upon which I base them, I do not ask my readers to adopt my views, and will merely refer them to those far more learned and able writers, who have dealt with the history of this Queen, and come to the same conclusions. In particular I refer to the late Mr Hosack's "Life of Mary Stuart," the arguments in which appear to me to be conclusive and irrefragable, and which in my opinion have not been in fact refuted.

After these remarks I shall proceed to state the dates and chief events in Mary's life as shortly as I can.

Almost immediately after her birth, vehement competition arose between the various European powers and the rival factions in Scotland as to whom she should marry ; but ultimately, through the influence of her mother the Queen Regent, she was in 1548, and in her sixth year, betrothed to Francis, eldest son of Henry II., King of France. She was immediately taken to France under the escort of a large French fleet, and there she remained for thirteen years, which were probably the happiest years of her life. In 1558, in her sixteenth, year she was actually married to Prince Francis,

who in the following year (July 1559) became King of France as Francis II. ; and for a period of eighteen months Mary held the proud position of being Queen Consort of France and Queen Regnant of Scotland. In December 1560 Francis, who had always been sickly, died of a lingering illness, during which there is a concert of testimony that his wife nursed him with assiduous devotion and kindness.

In August 1561, being in her nineteenth year, Mary returned to Scotland to assume personally the reins of Government. The difficulties of her position at this time were admittedly tremendous. The Scotch Lords had, almost without exception, thrown off almost the semblance of loyalty to her as their Queen, and were in open treaty with, and in the pay of her great enemy the English Queen. The Reformation had been established and her religion had been proscribed, so that it was a capital offence to celebrate or hear Mass anywhere but in the Queen's own private Chapel ; and she was quite unable to protect herself from personal insults on the part of the reforming Clergy. The period of her actual rule in Scotland, if rule it can be called, lasted from August 1561 till June 1567, a period during which I think it is admitted that she displayed considerable capacity, and gained greatly on the affections of her subjects. One of the great difficulties of her position was as to the choice of a second husband, the candidates for her hand being very numerous, and backed by strong and opposing influences. The policy of Elizabeth with regard to Mary's marriage is quite incomprehensible, and was certainly not understood even by her own Ministers, probably not by herself. Her avowed candidate for the Crown matrimonial of Scotland was her own favourite, Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. Dudley's father, though he had attained to the rank of Duke of Northumberland, had been of somewhat mean extraction, and Dudley himself was of no particular rank at the time and a very young man, and therefore he certainly was a very unsuitable candidate. Nevertheless Queen Mary pretended to entertain the proposal with satisfaction, but as the negotiations proceeded Elizabeth

gradually drew back ; and under the circumstances, and considering the almost avowedly tender relations between the English Queen and her candidate for the hand of the Scotch Queen, it is difficult to imagine that anyone concerned, Elizabeth, Dudley or Mary, was in earnest. In July 1565 Mary, on her own motion and in spite of considerable opposition from many of her nobles, publicly married her first cousin of the half-blood, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, to whom, indeed, it is said that she had been already privately married for some weeks. The mother of this young man, Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, was half-sister to Mary's father James V., James and Margaret having been the children by different marriages of Henry VIII.'s eldest sister Margaret ; consequently Darnley stood practically next in succession to the English Throne after Mary herself. (See Table XIV.).

I must deal with Mary's subsequent history in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY.—MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS
(continued).—JAMES I.

HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY, was born on the 7th of September 1545, and was three years younger than his wife, he being at the date of the marriage in his twentieth and Mary in her twenty-third year. He is admitted by all parties to have been a young man of weak and vicious character but singularly handsome in person; and it would seem that Mary fell in love with him almost at first sight. She carried through the preliminaries to the marriage with promptitude and a high hand, granting to him when he became her husband the great title of King of Scotland.

Queen Elizabeth was, or professed to be, extremely angry at the marriage, though on what grounds she had the right to interfere in the marriage of an independent Sovereign with any man, still less with a man of high rank and birth, it is difficult to conceive. As a matter of fact, however, there is reason to believe that, dreading a strong continental alliance, Elizabeth secretly favoured the marriage of Mary and Darnley. It is certain that she, usually so suspicious of the movements of her kindred, allowed the young man to go to Scotland without protest, and it has been shrewdly remarked that, while Elizabeth, though professing to desire an alliance between the Scotch Queen and her own favourite Dudley, always contrived to throw difficulties in the way of any meeting between them, she allowed Darnley, one of the handsomest youths of his time, to proceed to the Scotch Court without the smallest let or hindrance.

The marriage proved unhappy, Darnley was ambitious

but his ambition was wholly unsupported by any ability or by any force of character to maintain the power he desired. He had strong instincts for pleasure, and was quite without the principles or character which would have enabled him to resist the temptations which beset a King, even though a King only in name, in the midst of a turbulent and dissolute country. He at once began to intrigue with the Queen's enemies with the view of obtaining power for himself, with the result that he became a mere tool in their hands, and he at once plunged into every form of dissipation, with the result that within a year of his marriage he had decidedly, if not irretrievably, injured his health and ruined his reputation. It is impossible to read any reference to him made by any contemporary writer without seeing that long before his death he had lost not only the affection of his wife (who had suffered at his hands the most grievous outrages, both as a Queen and as a woman), but the respect of every class of the community. It is however worthy of remark that Darnley had been educated as highly as any Prince of his day, and the instances given of his precocious learning and piety compare well with those given of his illustrious cousins Edward VI. and Jane Grey, and I rely upon his subsequent career as somewhat justifying the sceptical attitude I have ventured to take up with regard to the future of those distinguished young persons.

On the 19th of June 1566 was born James, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and James I. of Great Britain and Ireland, only child of Darnley and Mary Stuart, and eight months after that date Darnley was murdered on the night of the 9th of February 1567. He had been seriously ill, and in his convalescence had been brought to a house at a place known as the "Kirk of Field" near Edinburgh. A reconciliation, real or apparent, had been effected between him and the Queen, who visited him on the evening before his murder, and then returned to Holyrood the same evening to be present at the marriage of two of her servants. In the night the house was blown up with gunpowder, and Darnley was killed

either by the effects of the explosion or, as seems more probable, by some person or persons as he was attempting to escape from the ruined house. He was buried on the 15th of February, and on the following day anonymous proclamations appeared in the streets of Edinburgh charging the Queen and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, with the murder. That Bothwell was one of the murderers no one has ever doubted, nor is there any reasonable doubt that in committing this crime he was prompted either by personal love for the Queen or by ambition, or by both, or that his object was to obtain the reversion of Mary's hand and the Crown matrimonial of Scotland. He was the fourth Earl of Bothwell of his family, and having been born in 1536 was turned thirty at this time. Before that he had certainly enjoyed a large measure of the Queen's confidence, and was a man of great influence and power in the State; but whether he had been Mary's lover is of course one of the questions most hotly in dispute. On the 15th of May 1567, little more than a month after Darnley's death, Mary and Bothwell were married, the latter being created Duke of Orkney, but not assuming the title of King. The intervening events are in dispute, being differently represented by different writers. If, as some say, Mary was a willing party to the marriage, there can I think be no doubt of her complicity in Darnley's murder, but if, as others say, she was virtually forced into the marriage, it seems to me that though she was guilty of a great fault in marrying the murderer, her guilt in the murder is by no means proved. This much is at least *certain*, that whatever may have been her own inclinations, she was strongly urged and solicited to the marriage by most, if not all, the nobles, who afterwards rose up as her accusers, and many of whom were afterwards proved to have been actual participators with Bothwell in Darnley's murder. Apart from the broad fact that Mary married Bothwell with indecent haste, the evidence against her rests, first, upon the famous letters supposed to have passed between her and Bothwell and subsequently produced, or said to have been produced, at the conferences at York and

Westminster; and secondly, upon certain confessions, or pretended confessions, made by persons of inferior rank and for the most part of low character. On the first point so distinguished a writer as Tytler, the historian of Scotland, a writer who avowedly takes the darkest view of Mary's character, says, "If the only proofs of Mary's guilt had been these letters, the task of her defenders would have been comparatively an easy, one. It is the moral evidence arising out of her own conduct which weighs heaviest against her." As to the confessions, they were admittedly obtained under torture, and in the absence of Mary, or anyone representing her, and they may, in my opinion, be dismissed as absolutely worthless. Therefore I think that those who wish to form a just estimate of Mary's character should specially direct their attention to the events which happened between Darnley's death and Mary's third marriage, and should not allow their attention to be diverted by the mass of so-called evidence, produced long after the event, and under circumstances of the most grave suspicion.

Immediately after the marriage a body of nobles under the leadership of the Earl of Morton (a man who is now universally admitted to have been one of the actual murderers, and who in the ensuing reign was charged with and executed for that offence) rebelled against the Queen. Mary, or Bothwell in her name, took up arms, and the opposing forces met on the 15th of June 1567 at Carberry Hill, with the result that Mary was taken prisoner and Bothwell fled. He subsequently escaped to Denmark, and being there arrested was confined as a prisoner in Norway till about 1575-77, when he died. It is not an insignificant circumstance that though everyone knew that he was guilty of the murder, though his execution and punishment was imperatively demanded by the honour of Scotland, and though his evidence was of vital importance as affecting the guilt or innocence of the Queen of Scotland, no serious attempt was ever made by those who were subsequently in power (who were all of them that Queen's deadly enemies) to obtain his extradition. No

doubt, however, this circumstance loses something of its significance from the fact that most, if not all, of those persons were themselves implicated in the murder, and dreaded Bothwell's testimony on their own account.

Mary was taken to Edinburgh as a captive, and was there subjected to much indignity; but she was almost immediately transferred to Lochleven Castle, standing in the midst of a lake, where she was placed in the custody of Lady Douglas, who had been her father's mistress, and was the mother of her bastard brother, the Earl of Murray. Here, on the 29th of July 1567, she was virtually forced to sign a paper abdicating the Throne, and on the same day her infant son was proclaimed King, and Murray thereupon assumed the Regency. On the 2nd of May 1568 Mary succeeded in making her escape under very romantic circumstances, which are detailed, if not with strict historical accuracy, with substantial truth in Scott's novel of "The Abbot." During her captivity of ten months there had been a great reaction in her favour, and she was joined by a large number of the Scotch Lords with their retainers. Shortly afterwards she gave battle to Murray, who had pursued her, but she sustained a decided defeat and made her escape with difficulty.

Queen Elizabeth had never recognised the action of the Lords in imprisoning Mary (the imprisonment of a Queen by her own subjects was a dangerous precedent), and, in answer to a message which Mary had sent announcing her escape, Elizabeth had despatched Dr. Leighton to Scotland, with her warm congratulations and an assurance that if the Scotch Queen would submit the decision of her affairs to Elizabeth, and abstain from calling in any foreign aid, Elizabeth would speedily either persuade or compel Mary's subjects to acknowledge her authority. The draft of Leighton's instructions, which are entirely in Cecil's own handwriting, is still preserved among the English State papers. Mary, relying on Elizabeth's assurances, determined, contrary to the advice of her friends, to take refuge in England, and on the 16th of May 1568 she crossed the Solway in an open boat. She was at first received

with honour and conducted to Carlisle, but she speedily discovered that she was in fact a captive, and from that time until her death on the 8th of February 1587, a period of over nineteen years, she remained a captive in the hands of Elizabeth.

In the same year, 1568, began the famous conferences, commenced at York and transferred to Westminster, which were instituted, with Mary's reluctant consent, to investigate the question of her guilt in Darnley's death. It was at these conferences that the letters so often quoted were produced, or at all events it was said that they were produced. I shall not enter into the question of their authenticity, about which many volumes have been written; but this much is certain, (1) it was of first rate importance to all Mary's enemies and accusers that the authenticity of the letters should be established beyond possibility of question; and (2) nothing can be conceived more contrary to every principle of justice, as such principles are recognised in every civilised State, and nothing can be imagined more calculated to arouse doubt and suspicion, than the actual course of procedure which Mary's enemies and accusers (who were no fools) thought proper to adopt with regard to the letters on which their case mainly rested. In the result Mary was not found guilty, and the sentence of Elizabeth, as declared by Cecil, was that while on the one hand Elizabeth was of opinion "that nothing had as yet been brought forward against Murray" (and other persons whom Mary had charged with being parties to the murder), "which should impair their honour or allegiance, nothing had been produced or shown to the Queen of England which should induce her for anything yet seen to conceive an ill opinion of her good sister," meaning Mary (see Tytler's "History of Scotland"). Considering how greatly it would have been to Elizabeth's advantage to have had the guilt of Mary distinctly proved, and how distinctly the guilt was proved by the letters, if they were genuine, this seems to me to amount, if not to an actual verdict of acquittal, at least to a finding that the letters were not authentic.

I do not think at the present day anyone denies that whether Mary was or was not a party to her husband's murder, that murder was the result of a vast conspiracy which included the great body of the Scotch nobles, and most, if not all, of those who were prominent in accusing the Queen. The complicity of Morton, who was a Scotch commissioner at York, and of Lethington, who was assistant commissioner, must be taken as proved ; and if it is not certain that Murray himself was a party to the conspiracy, I do not think it can be reasonably doubted, or is in fact denied, that when he appointed Morton and Lethington to fill these judicial offices at the conference, he was well aware that they themselves were parties to the crime into the circumstances of which they were appointed to enquire. Under the circumstances it is not wonderful that Mary and her friends should, at the time, have protested against the whole proceedings as a mere mockery of justice, or that in later years Mary's defenders should have regarded them in the same light.

Mary, though not found guilty, nevertheless remained a prisoner, but she had by no means lost her power. She had adherents all over the world, and was, in fact, the rallying point of the Catholics, not only in Scotland, but in England, and she became the subject of any number of conspiracies. Consequently Elizabeth and her Government regarded Mary with increasing fear, and as the years went on the circumstances of her captivity became harsher and more stringent. As early as the sittings at York, a plan had been set on foot for a marriage between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk. This Duke, Thomas Howard, was the fourth Duke of his family. (See Table XIII.) He was the grandson of the Duke of Norfolk who played so prominent a part in the reign of Henry VIII. and he was consequently a relative of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth's grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Boleyn, and his grandfather having been sister and brother. Being the only Duke in England, and a man of great wealth, and one of the most influential of Elizabeth's subjects, he had been appointed to preside at the conferences of York, and he had therefore

the best means of knowing the real facts as to the murder of Darnley. It is not a little remarkable under these circumstances that he should have taken that time to have entered into secret negotiations for marrying Darnley's accused widow. Norfolk was at that time a widower for the third time, though he cannot in 1568 have been more than thirty-two. Though he was not himself a Catholic, he had strong leanings to the Catholic side, and his marriage with Mary would have been regarded by the Catholic party with favour. Mary and her friends regarded, or professed to regard, her own marriage with Bothwell as invalid, firstly on the ground that it had been brought about, as it was alleged, under pressure ; and secondly, because it was said that Bothwell was at the time himself a married man. It is certain that Bothwell had been previously married, and that he had only succeeded in divorcing his first wife a very short time before his marriage to Mary, but the circumstances of Bothwell's divorce, like nearly every other point in the case, are in dispute.

It is strange, but nevertheless true, that both the Earl of Murray, Mary's brother, and the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite, were parties to the plot for bringing about the marriage of Mary and Norfolk. They probably entered into it either because they saw some means of turning the marriage to their own advantage, or more probably with a view to its betrayal, and in fact they *did* ultimately betray it, with the result that the Duke was beheaded in 1572.

In 1586 Queen Mary was accused of being a party to the plot known as Babbington's Plot, which had for its object not merely the dethronement, but the assassination of Elizabeth. She was so accused on the testimony of certain letters supposed to have been written by her, and from confessions extorted, under torture, from Babbington, and two of her own secretaries, Curle and Nau. Her answer to the charge as given by Tytler seems to me remarkable for its dignity and straightforwardness: "I do not deny that I have longed for liberty, and earnestly laboured to procure it. Nature impelled me to do so, but I call God to witness that

I have never conspired the death of the Queen of England, or consented to it. I confess that I have written to my friends and solicited their assistance in my escape from my miserable imprisonment, in which she has now kept me a captive Queen for nineteen years, but I never wrote the letters now produced against me. I confess, too, that I have written often in favour of the persecuted Catholics, and had I been able, or even now at this moment were I able, to save them from their miseries by shedding my own blood I would have done it and would now do it ; but what connection has this with any plot against the life of the Queen ? and how can I answer for the dangerous designs of others which are carried on without my knowledge ?” “It was but lately,” she added, “that I received a letter from some unknown person entreating my pardon if they attempted anything without my knowledge.”

As to the confessions, she urged with great force that she had never seen them, and had no means of testing their authenticity, that Babbington had been put to death before the charge against her was made, and that she had never been confronted with either Curle or Nau, or allowed to examine them, and she pointed out how entirely she was in the power of her secretaries, who possessed her cypher, if they were minded to betray her.

If Mary was really a party to a plot for the actual assassination of Elizabeth, it may be that she was worthy of death ; but with regard to her guilt in this matter, as with regard to the alleged letters to Bothwell, I can only say that if she was really guilty it was in the power of Elizabeth to have made her guilt manifest to the whole world ; whereas in fact the proceedings against the captive Queen were a mere travesty of the forms of justice, and the evidence against her, so far as appears, such as would not at the present day be accepted in any Court of Justice in any civilized country. Imagine a Judge in this century being asked to convict on the evidence of a confession extorted under torture from a witness who was not produced in

person, and whom the accused was neither allowed to see nor cross-examine!

Guilty, or not guilty, the time had come when Mary's enemies judged it necessary for her to die. She was condemned, and she was beheaded on the 8th of February 1587, to the horror and amidst the protests of the whole civilized world.

The story of the vacillations of Elizabeth, of her shuffling attempts to throw the responsibility on her ministers, and, to speak plainly, of the lies she told to all and sundry, is to be found in all histories; as is also the story of the last moments of the Queen of Scotland, which, as related by the baldest of historians, it is impossible to read, even now, without some emotion.

The body of Mary Stuart now lies buried in the Chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster Abbey, under a tomb afterwards erected by her son James I.

With the accession of the Stuart dynasty we begin a new epoch in English History; and naturally with the period into which we are now entering most of my readers will be far more familiar than with that which closed with the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The Tudor dynasty was notable for the gradual suppression of the power of the nobles and of the Church, and for the consolidation in the hands of the sovereigns of absolute authority. The Stuart dynasty was marked by the rising power of the Democracy, and by the gradual limitation of the Royal Authority, and resulted in the Revolution of 1688, which practically established the British constitution on its present basis. The events which led to this great change have so direct a bearing on the present constitutional position of the British Isles that it is impossible for anyone who is interested in that position, however little he may care for history in general, to be either ignorant of or indifferent to those events. Moreover, for one writer who treats of the earlier history of England, there are at least ten who have made it their business to deal with England's history under

the Stuarts, and it is difficult to find a single person of note in that period whose biography has not been written, often with extreme minuteness, at least once. This must be my excuse, if any is needed, for seeming to slur over the great events of the seventeenth century.

Queen Elizabeth died on the 24th of March 1603 in her seventieth year, and at her death there was practically only one competitor for the English Throne, namely, James VI., King of Scotland, who was the grandson of her first cousin, James V.

As has been so often said, the children of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York combined the rival claims of the great houses of York and Lancaster. These children were four in number, Arthur, who died without issue in his father's life, Henry VIII., Margaret Queen of Scotland, and Mary Duchess of Suffolk. On the death of Elizabeth, the issue of Henry VIII. became extinct, and by the law of England the Crown passed to the heir of his sister Margaret. It is true that there were those who alleged that Henry VIII. had had statutory power to change the succession, and that by his will he had exercised that power, and in fact settled the succession, passing over the descendants of his eldest sister in favour of the grandchildren of his sister Mary. At the death of Elizabeth there were living children of two of those grandchildren, namely, of Katharine Grey, Countess of Hertford, and of Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby; but both the validity of the powers supposed to have been given to Henry VIII., and of the execution of the will by which he was supposed to have exercised those powers, were in dispute, and the jealous policy of Elizabeth had reduced the descendants of her cousins Katharine and Margaret to such political insignificance that they do not appear to have been seriously thought of as candidates for the Throne either by themselves or anyone else on the death of the Queen, or at any subsequent period.

Margaret, Henry's eldest sister, had only three grandchildren, Mary Queen of Scots (the only child of her son

James V.) and Lord Darnley, and his brother Charles Stuart, the sons of her daughter Margaret Countess of Lennox. Mary and Darnley had married, leaving an only child James VI. of Scotland, and Charles Stuart had left an only daughter, Arabella Stuart. This young lady, whose sad story has already been related, had at one time been to some extent put forward by Elizabeth as her possible successor, which circumstance gave rise to jealousy on the part of James VI., and eventually caused his cousin infinite misfortune. Arabella, however, was a woman of little ability or ambition, and there was no person of influence whose special interest it was to press her claims, such as they were, and therefore, though a somewhat vague plot was discovered immediately after James' accession which was supposed to have been for the substitution of Arabella for James as Sovereign, it seems clear that Arabella herself had nothing to do with it, and it came to nothing.

In James' case, the religious difficulties which had stood in the way of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, were removed, for he was as zealous a Protestant as the most ardent Reformer could desire; and though there were not wanting those who viewed with suspicion the accession of the King of Scotland to the English Throne, there was a still larger number who hailed it with satisfaction, as being likely to put an end to the cruel wars which for centuries had devastated Scotland, and impoverished both Kingdoms.

The Catholic party regarded with satisfaction the accession of a Prince, who was the son of the Queen whom they looked upon as a Martyr to their faith; and they anticipated (and having regard to the promises which had been given to them by James with, at the time, good reason) some amelioration in their hard fate. The Protestants were delighted to welcome a Prince who thoroughly shared their religious sentiments, and all parties longed for some settlement of the question of succession which, in the later years of Elizabeth, had weighed on the minds of a people gradually settling into peace and quietness, which they ardently longed to be continued.

Thus it is probable that, in any event, James would have succeeded without difficulty ; but the entirely peaceful circumstances of his accession were due to the foresight and wisdom of Sir Robert Cecil.

The great Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, the most celebrated of Elizabeth's Ministers, had died in 1598, five years before his mistress, but he had left two sons, Thomas and Robert, who inherited a large measure of his influence, and the younger, at any rate, a large measure of his ability. The elder, who inherited his father's title, was subsequently created Earl of Exeter, and from him the present Marquis of Exeter is descended. The younger Robert, who, though at Elizabeth's death he had not been advanced to the Peerage, was at the time virtually Prime Minister, and he had, in view of the approaching demise of the Crown, entered into secret negotiations with the Scotch King. So carefully had he laid his plans that all preparations for the King's progress to England had been made beforehand. James was informed of Elizabeth's death, and set out for England with such extraordinary rapidity that the English people had hardly had time to realise that Elizabeth was dead, before they were called upon to accept James as her successor in possession.

Robert Cecil received his reward, for he was created Earl of Salisbury, and, until his death in 1612, he remained pre-eminent in the new King's Councils. From him the present Marquis of Salisbury is directly descended.

James VI. of Scotland, who became James I. of Great Britain, was born on the 19th of June 1566. On the 29th of July 1567 his mother, in her prison at Lochleven Castle, was forced or induced to sign an abdication of the Scottish Throne, and four days later James was crowned King of Scotland. Thus he, like his mother and his grandfather, became Sovereign of the most turbulent nation in Europe while he was still a baby. His reign in Scotland is marked by a series of feuds and dissensions between the greater nobles, which can hardly be distinguished from civil war, and which were almost continuous. When in later years, on the occasion of his marriage,

he was absent from his Kingdom for a few months he, on his return, expressed great satisfaction that all had gone well while he was away, there having been, as Miss Strickland remarks, in a period of seven months, "only two insurrections, a few riots in Edinburgh, and some skirmishes in the Highlands."

On the enforced abdication of Mary the reins of Government were seized by her bastard brother, James Stuart, Earl of Murray, who was proclaimed Regent, and was assassinated about eighteen months later in January 1570. He was succeeded as Regent by the King's paternal grandfather, Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who was assassinated in May 1571. He, in his turn, was succeeded by the Earl of Mar, who died a natural death in October 1572, and then came the infamous James Douglas, Earl of Morton, who was the nephew of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, the second husband of Margaret Tudor and the grandfather (through his daughter, Margaret Douglas) of the King's father, Lord Darnley. Consequently, Lord Morton was the first cousin of the King's grandmother. This person who possessed, in an eminent degree, the savage vices of so many of his family was Ruler of Scotland till 1577, when the young King, at the mature age of eleven, was declared competent to reign by his own authority. As a matter of fact, however, Morton, though no longer Regent in name, remained practically in power for some years later, but ultimately, in 1581, he was charged with being one of the murderers of Lord Darnley, and executed on that charge. Of his actual guilt there can be no question.

In 1582 the young King, at what is known as the "Raid of Ruthven," was taken prisoner by Lord Gowrie, and remained a prisoner for about ten months, after which his actual reign may be said to have commenced. He was in his twenty-first year, and was still unmarried at the date of his mother's execution, and he had completed his thirty-seventh year when he became King of England. He died on the 27th of March 1625 in his fifty-ninth year.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JAMES I. (*continued*).—ROBERT CARR, EARL OF SOMERSET.—
GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.—ANNE OF
DENMARK.

JAMES I. may in some respects be regarded as a “*lusus naturæ*.” The Stuarts, from whose house James was descended, had all been remarkable for their personal beauty, for their great courage, and for the distinction and grace of their manners.

Vicious as he was, Darnley's good looks and personal accomplishments are acknowledged by all writers. Darnley's father, Lennox, on his first arrival in Scotland from France, is said to have excited the admiration of all the Scotch ladies, and his wife, Margaret Douglas, if not a great beauty, certainly won her full share of admiration at the Court of Henry VIII. Mary Queen of Scots is admitted to have been one of the most beautiful and graceful women of any time, and she was the daughter of parents both remarkably handsome. Nevertheless, the ugliness and clumsiness of King James VI. all writers agree to have been remarkable. His features were ill-formed, he had a habit of rolling his eyes, which was extremely grotesque; his tongue was too large for his mouth, and he habitually slobbered, his body was ill-shaped, his legs were bandy, and, in his later years, were so weak that he could hardly walk without support, his utterance was thick, and his manners were so uncouth and coarse as to be at times both vulgar and repulsive. As to his courage there are two opinions, but if, as is probable, in the graver emergencies of his life he displayed coolness and resolution, it is certain that in small matters, and this more particularly in his closing

years, he made exhibitions of cowardliness which caused him to be the laughing stock of his Court. Under these circumstances one might almost be inclined to attach some credence to the rumours from time to time put about that James was not, in reality, the child of Mary Queen of Scots, but had been substituted for a child who died in infancy, had it not been for the fact that his descendants were, all of them, as distinctly Stuart in their personal characteristics as any of his ancestors. We must, therefore, suppose that James' physical disadvantages were the result of the tragic scenes that took place during his own mother's pregnancy. It is well known that some months before his birth, while Mary was at supper, Darnley and his companions rushed into the room, and there murdered her secretary, Rizzio, while the unfortunate wretch was actually clinging to the skirt of her dress. For some time afterwards Mary was extremely ill from the effects of this awful scene, and it has been conjectured that the shock thus given to the mother's nerves, gravely affected the physical and mental qualities of the child within her.

King James was described in his own time as "the wisest fool in Europe," and he was, in fact, an extraordinary combination of wisdom and folly. It can hardly be said that he possessed great abilities of any kind, but his shrewdness and keenness of observation were at times extraordinary, and enabled him to surmount difficulties which might easily have crushed an abler man. He had received a learned education and possessed a large fund of information, and, though certainly not much under the influence of religion in his private life, he was extremely fond of polemical discussions, for which he displayed a certain amount of aptitude. His real learning, however, is so overlaid with thick layers of conceit and pedantry as to become almost invisible through the medium of his published and recorded utterances. In character he appears to have been externally good natured and jovial; but I think it is impossible to read the records of his domestic relations and public actions without seeing that he was, in reality, extremely cold-hearted. Though not

naturally cruel, under the influence of terror, and for his own interests he perpetrated deeds of cruelty of the most horrid description, and in his reign the practice of torturing prisoners and suspected persons to extort confessions was carried to a point which was hardly reached even under the Tudors. He firmly believed in witches and witchcraft, on which subject he wrote a book ; and, under him, the laws against witches were so stringent, and they were carried out with such diabolical cruelty, that it is almost sickening to read the accounts which continually crop up in every record of James' reign of the atrocities committed in the name of justice and religion. Every person who sustained any injury from the action of the weather by sea or land, every person who suffered from a malady which the imperfect science of the day was unable to trace, and every person who sustained misfortune which he or she considered unmerited, was allowed and encouraged to fix the blame on any wretched woman in the neighbourhood who happened to be sufficiently old and ugly. The forms of procedure against the alleged witches were so extravagantly absurd that, in nine cases out of ten, the accused person was tortured to death in the course of the examination into their guilt. Thus, an alleged witch was thrown into water to see if she would float. If she did, she was a witch to be burnt, but, if, as was naturally the case, she went to the bottom and was drowned, it was presumed that a little error had been made and that she was not a witch after all ! The discovery of the mistake did not, however, bring the victim to life ! It is needless to say that when the King on his Throne, and many of the Clergy from their pulpits, were continually denouncing witches and witchcraft, the terrors of the ignorant people, always prone to this kind of superstition, were raised almost to a point of insanity. Many old women went mad from terror and accused themselves and, unfortunately, many others as their accomplices ; and, of course, as always happens in these cases, many schemes of private and political enmity were masked under a pretended belief in witchcraft. The total number of unfortunate persons who were done to death

as witches in England and Scotland under the rule of James I. is something appalling ; and for these crimes the King is largely answerable, for his interest in and his extreme credulity as to all stories of witchcraft was well known to all classes of his subjects.

In Scotland the Catholics had been pretty well exterminated before James had attained to any real power, but in England they had some hopes that with the advent of a new King they would obtain some relief. Almost his first proceedings, however, showed them that this was not to be, and the indignation and despair occasioned by this knowledge, gave rise to the wicked conspiracy known in history as "Guy Fawkes' Plot." The actual number of persons implicated in this plot was small, and the persons engaged were men of little weight or consideration (see "What was the Gunpowder Plot?" by John Gerard, S.J.), but the terror produced by the discovery of the plot, both in the King and in the people, was extreme ; and not only was a most disproportionate number of persons put to death under circumstances of fiendish cruelty, but fresh penal laws were passed against all Catholics, which, in their atrocity, exceeded even those enforced by Elizabeth.

King James has the credit of having been a faithful husband, though the degree of affection subsisting between him and his wife does not seem to have been a high one. He disliked his eldest son, whom, it has been suggested, though I believe without any truth, that he caused to be poisoned ; and of his daughter he does not appear to have been particularly fond ; but in his later years he was both attached to and influenced by his younger son Charles, afterwards Charles I.

On the other hand, throughout his life, James lavished exuberant affection on a series of male favourites, many of whom were raised from a comparatively inferior position in life, and were distinguished rather by their good looks and powers of flattery than by any superior mental or moral qualifications. Upon these persons the King lavished titles, places of honour and wealth, in a manner for which it is

difficult to find a parallel in any reign ; and he allowed them to treat him in public with a familiarity which would appear to have been almost contemptuous in its expression, and which was a source of constant annoyance and mortification to the more decorous of his subjects.

After James' coming to England, the two most noteworthy and prominent of his favourites were the infamous Robert Carr or Kerr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, and the hardly less infamous George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham,

Carr, as his name is commonly called, was a younger son of Sir Thomas Kerr of Fernierst in Scotland, and was born about 1587. In 1603, when he was about sixteen, he was brought to England in the train of the King as a Page of Honour. In 1611, when he was twenty, he was advanced to the position of Gentleman of the Bedchamber, then a very lucrative office, and he received the honour of Knighthood. Four years later he was created Viscount Rochester, elected a Knight of the Garter and a member of the Privy Council, and appointed Keeper of the Palace of Westminster. In 1613, when he was twenty-six, he was advanced to the rank of Earl of Somerset, having in the meantime been appointed Secretary of State and Treasurer of Scotland, and, in addition, he received many minor but highly valuable appointments and many grants of land and money. Carr was a person of no sort of ability and of an extremely dissolute life. In 1622, at the age of thirty-five, having contracted, under very discreditable circumstances, a marriage with Frances Howard, a daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, and the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex, he and his wife were accused of murdering by poison Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed their marriage. They were tried and found guilty, and their accomplices were executed, but, though Carr had been long declining in influence the King interposed his Royal Authority to save his life and that of his wife, and they dragged on the short remainder of their existence in obscurity. (See "A King's Favourite," by P. Gibbs.) It should be said that Carr was interpolated as Earl of Somerset, a title hitherto intimately connected with

the Royal family between the Protector Somerset, in the reign of Edward VI., and that person's grandson, the Earl of Hertford, who married Lady Arabella Stuart, and who was restored to his grandfather's rank in 1660.

The fortunes of Villiers were even more rapid and magnificent. The younger son of Sir George Villiers, an obscure gentleman in Leicestershire, he was born in 1592 and sent to Court at the age of twenty-one in 1613, and he immediately found favour with the King. In the course of four years, omitting a number of minor offices and a number of direct grants of lands and pensions, he was promoted in rapid succession to the office of Cup Bearer to the King, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Master of the Horse (an office borne hitherto only by men of the highest rank), High Steward of Westminster, Master of the King's Bench, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Buckingham; and within the same period he was appointed a Member of the Privy Council, and created Baron Villiers and Earl of Buckingham. All this before he was twenty-five! Two years later, in 1619, he was advanced to the rank of Marquis of Buckingham, and in 1623 he was made a Duke, having been likewise appointed Lord High Admiral of England; and having, in the meantime, received other honours quite too numerous to mention. His mother, and his brothers and sisters were ennobled and received distinguished offices; and all his relations, to the most remote degree, profited largely by his advancement. Amongst others may be mentioned his brother-in-law, Sir William Feilding, who was created Earl of Denbigh, and from whom the present Earl of Denbigh is descended. (See Lodge's "Portraits" and the "Romance of the first Duke of Buckingham," by P. Gibbs.) It is, however, fair to Villiers to say that if he enjoyed the favour of King James he enjoyed, in an almost equal degree, that of James' son Charles; and that, in the early years of that King, his influence remained unabated. He was assassinated in 1628 by one Feltham, and left a son, who was the second and last Duke of Buckingham of his family, and who was notorious even at the Court of Charles II. for his extreme

debauchery. I must, however, again refer to the first Duke of Buckingham in speaking of Charles I.

Though King James had, as I have said, the reputation of being a faithful husband, the glaring immorality and wickedness of his courtiers was notorious throughout the world. He himself was extremely intemperate in his habits, not infrequently appearing before his people in a drunken condition, his language was often coarse beyond the bounds of decency, and, to say the least, he did not discourage the licence and extravagance prevalent among his courtiers. In speaking of the wickedness of King James' Court I must refer, in justification of the remark, to the practice of secret poisoning which, in this reign, is said to have attained to its highest point. There is, of course great exaggeration in the contemporary writings, inasmuch as if they are to be believed, no person of condition ever died otherwise than by poison; but the facts elicited at the trial of Carr and his associates for the murder of Overbury show that secret poisoning *did* obtain to an alarming extent.

In concluding what I have to say of James I., I will refer my readers to Scott's novel "The Fortunes of Nigel," in which, though the minor characters and the incidents are imaginary, the character of James I. is sketched with a master's hand, and though it appears to me too flattering, is the more clearly recognised the more closely one examines the authentic records and contemporary accounts of this King.

I do not know how far my readers will sympathise with a remark I have heard made, that all things are to be excused to James I. in that, in his reign, tobacco was first introduced into England.

King James died on the 27th of March 1625, and he is buried in Westminster Abbey, but no monument was ever erected to his memory.

In 1589 James married Anne, daughter of Frederick II., King of Denmark. The history of Denmark is so little known that a few words as to the previous Kings may not be unacceptable. In 1374 (temp. Richard II.) died Valdemar, the

last of the Kings of Denmark, of the ancient family of Estridson. He left three daughters, of whom the second, Margaret, married Hakon VI., King of Norway. It seems to have been the custom of the Danish nation to elect their Sovereigns, though the persons elected were chosen from the relatives of the last King. On the death of Valdemar, Margaret, Queen of Norway, had a son, Olaf, and the Danes elected him as their new King ; it being provided that Queen Margaret should act as Regent during his minority. This Margaret was a woman of great ability and indomitable courage and energy, and under her rule Denmark attained to a position of power and influence which it has seldom or ever attained to since. When her son Olaf died as a boy, his mother was allowed to choose his successor, and she chose her great nephew, Erik, a son of the Duke of Pomerania by Martha, only child of Margaret's eldest sister, Ingebiorg. This Prince, who is known as Erik VI., Margaret succeeded, partly by diplomacy and partly by force of arms, in placing on the Thrones of the Three Kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and she married him, as has been already stated, to Philippa, second daughter of King Henry IV. of England. Margaret, who is commonly spoken of as the "Queen of the North," was virtually the ruler of her adopted son's dominions during her life, but after her death in 1412 (temp. Henry V.) the great power she had placed in the hands of Erik rapidly went to pieces. He, as has been already remarked, was a person of very inferior ability and character, and in 1439 he was deposed, and he spent the remainder of his life on the Island of Gothland, living as a kind of pirate. In his place Christopher of Bavaria was elected King of Denmark, but he died soon after, without leaving a child ; and thereupon he was succeeded by Christian of Oldenburg, who was remotely connected with the Danish Royal Family, and who established the dynasty known as the Oldenburgs. Margaret, a daughter of this King, married James III. of Scotland, and was the grandmother of James V., who was the grandfather of James I. of England, and to this marriage I must refer again, as it was

practically the cause of this marriage between James I. and Anne of Denmark. Christian I. was succeeded by his son Hans, who was succeeded by *his* son Christian II., and Christian II. was succeeded by his uncle Frederick I., the brother of Hans, who began to reign in 1523, and was contemporary with Henry VIII. Frederick I. was succeeded by his son Christian III., who established the Reformation in Denmark. He died on the 1st of January 1559, and was succeeded by his son Frederick II., who was the father of Anne of Denmark. Thus it will be seen that James I. and his wife were both descended in the fifth degree from a common ancestor, Christian I. of Denmark. When Margaret of Denmark married James III. of Scotland, her father was unable to pay her dowry, which was fixed at 50,000 florins; and to secure the payment of that amount he mortgaged to the Scotch King the Islands of Orkney and Shetland, which thus passed under Scottish Rule. None of the succeeding Danish Monarchs were able to redeem the Islands until the time of Frederick II., but that King, greatly enriched by the spoil of the monasteries which had fallen into his hands, announced his intention of paying off the mortgage to the great consternation of the Scotch, who were neither prepared to see the Danes established in force upon their coast, nor to protest the question by force of arms. It was to settle this burning question that King James VI. proposed to marry the King of Denmark's daughter; and ultimately, after a great deal of discussion, the marriage was agreed to, and it was agreed that the disputed Islands should be the dowry of the Danish Princess. During the discussions, however, King Frederick II. died in 1588, and the Crown passed to his young son Christian IV., under the Regency of his mother, Sophia of Mecklenburgh. In August 1589 James and Anne were married by proxy, and shortly afterwards the newly married Queen set sail for Scotland. She encountered dreadful weather, and was driven back on the Coast of Norway, and had to land at the village of Upsloe, where it seemed probable she would have to pass the approaching winter. I

may here remark that in consequence of this unnatural and disloyal conduct on the part of the winds and waves, King James gave the witches of Scotland a remarkably hot time for several months.

On hearing of the unfortunate position of his bride, King James, acting, it must be admitted, by no means in accordance with his usual characteristics, set off in person to rescue her; and having encountered considerable perils by sea, he arrived at Upsloe on the 19th of November 1589, and he was married a day or two later. At the date of his marriage he was in his twenty-fourth year, and the Princess, who was born in December 1575, was within two months of completing her fourteenth year. Once married, the King and Queen of Scotland proceeded to Denmark, their journey across the mountains of Sweden and Norway in mid-winter being regarded in the sixteenth century as a feat of no small daring. Arrived at Copenhagen, King James seems to have indulged himself in a course of very uproarious festivities, in the intervals of which he devoted considerable time and attention to the Danish witches, to their great discomfort. He and Queen Anne did not arrive in Scotland till May 1590, and there they became involved in a series of lively disputes with the reforming Clergy as to the ceremonial to be observed at the Queen's Coronation. This ultimately took place on the 17th of May 1590, and was attended with a good deal of splendour, to attain to which, however, the poor King had to make unparalleled exertions. Miss Strickland gives a series of very diverting letters written in the Scotch vernacular by James to various of his nobles, soliciting gifts and loans for the occasion. In one he asks for the loan of some silver spoons, and in another he begs Lord Mar to lend him, for his own use, a pair of silk stockings, adding "Ye wad na that your King suld appear ane scrub on sic an occasion!"

The domestic life of James and Anne does not appear to have been particularly peaceful. I have already said that in his youth King James had been for a time a captive in the hands of Lord Gowrie, the head of the Ruthven family. After



he recovered his liberty James put Lord Gowrie to death, and treated his family with considerable harshness, and ever after he regarded them with great suspicion. In August 1600 was discovered the great "Gowrie Plot," or alleged plot, which for a time created an immense commotion. James himself alleged that he had been beguiled by the Ruthven family into their house at Perth, and that they had there attempted to murder him, and had very nearly succeeded in doing so. The real circumstances are in dispute, it having been more than hinted by some writers that the King invented the whole story, with the view of further punishing the Ruthvens, and, as some say, out of jealousy of one of their young men whom the Queen was supposed to regard with favour. At all events James proceeded to pretty well exterminate the family. The name of the Queen is generally connected in a somewhat mysterious manner with the Gowrie plot. All that actually appears, however, is that Anne was very fond of Beatrice Ruthven, who was one of her maids of honour, and that James, having dismissed the young lady from the household, the Queen, knowing her to be in great distress and destitution, sought privately to assist her. This being discovered by the King, he greatly resented his wife's supposed sympathy with his enemies.

Another fruitful source of dispute between the King and Queen was as to the custody of their eldest son, Prince Henry, whom the Queen wished to keep in her own palace, while the King wished him to be left in charge of the Earl of Mar, who had an hereditary right to the custody of the heir apparent. This dispute gave rise to some rather undignified scenes, several of which, as they are described, must have been not a little comic in their details.

Queen Anne did not accompany her husband to England, but followed him within a few weeks. Her progress south seems to have been animated by a somewhat lively wrangle between her and her husband, with reference to the officers and ladies who were to constitute the Queen's household, in which dispute it would appear that the Queen substantially carried

the day. Anne was met by her husband at Westminster, and gave further offence by refusing to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, a circumstance which might have given rise to no little difficulty had it not been for the tact of the English Bishops, who appear to have been as complaisant on this occasion as the Scotch Ministers had been the reverse on the occasion of Anne's Coronation as Queen of Scotland.

It would appear that after Queen Anne's arrival in England she fell very much into the background, and it is probable that she was always in rather bad health.

To judge by her portraits she was not a particularly good-looking woman, but she seems to have been, on the whole, good-humoured and kind-hearted, though in her earlier years she was at times extremely excitable, and in her disputes with the King she, to say the least, held her own. She was very fond of dress (in which her taste, judging from her pictures, must have been execrable), and she was fond of fetes and pageantry of all kinds, and the "masques" which were performed at her Court have been rendered famous by the genius of Ben Jonson, who for the most part wrote them. Her religious opinions seem to have been extremely unsettled, and in her later life she was suspected of Popish tendencies, and indeed certain Catholic writers maintain that on her death-bed she was received into the Catholic Communion. If this is true, the wives of all the Stuart Kings were either born and remained, or became Catholics, which seems a somewhat remarkable coincidence, considering the position held by Catholics under those Monarchs.

Anne of Denmark died in March 1618 after a long illness, and about seven years before King James. She is buried in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.—CHARLES I.—HENRIETTA
MARIA OF FRANCE.

KING James and his wife had seven children, of whom four died as infants. They were (1) Henry, Prince of Wales, born February 19th, 1594. (2) Elizabeth, afterwards Electress Palatine and Titular Queen of Bohemia, born August 15th, 1596. (3) Margaret, who died an infant, born December 24th, 1598. (4) Charles, afterwards Charles I., born November 19th, 1600. (He is said to have been called Charles, after the King's uncle, Lord Charles Stuart.) (5) Robert (said to have been so called after Robert Bruce), who died an infant, (6) Mary, born April 1605, and (7) Sophia (called after the Queen's mother), born 1606.

The Princesses Mary and Sophia were born in England, and both died as infants, and their tomb in Westminster Abbey is one of the most quaint of Royal monuments to be found there, or I should think anywhere else.

Prince Henry's life was short. At his birth he was created Duke of Rothesay, a title which was usually borne by the heirs-apparent to the Scottish Throne. He was in his eighth year when his father became King of England, but he was not created Prince of Wales till 1608. He died unmarried in 1612 in his nineteenth year. Every account of this Prince represents him as a youth of singular promise. He gave every sign of possessing abilities of a high order, was handsome in person, gracious in manners, and skilled in all athletic exercises; and his private life shewed a rectitude, not to say an austerity, of morals which was remarkable in a young man who, notwithstanding his early death, lived long enough to be exposed to the temptations of a most dissolute

Court. His father disliked him, fearing, it is said, the comparisons which people were already beginning to draw between the King and the heir-apparent, and on the death of the Prince of Wales charges of murder by poison were freely made. There is, however, no reason to doubt that he died from natural causes, and certainly no reason to suppose that if his end was hastened, his father was in any way a party to the crime. Prince Henry is buried in Westminster Abbey, but no monument was erected over his grave.

Of the two other children of James I. who survived infancy, I propose to deal first with Charles I. and his descendants, and must therefore, of necessity, postpone what I have to say of his sister, Elizabeth, for several chapters, but I will ask my readers to remember this lady, for it is through her that his present Majesty derives his descent from the Royal houses of Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stuart. Indeed I may here remark that between the death of King Edward III. in 1377 and the accession of George I. in 1714, a period of over three centuries, there are only three English Kings—Edward IV. of the Plantagenets, Henry VII. of the Tudors, and James I. of the Stuarts, from whom the present Royal Family is descended.

King Charles I. was born on the 19th of November 1600, and was immediately created Duke of Albany. He was not three years old when Queen Elizabeth died, and having been extremely delicate as an infant, he was left in Scotland for some years. He was created Duke of York in 1605 and Prince of Wales in 1616, four years after the death of his elder brother; and he was in his twenty-fifth year when he became King in March 1625.

The character of Charles I. has been the subject of almost as much controversy as that of his grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots, but inasmuch as this controversy mainly turns upon the lawfulness or unlawfulness of his public actions as a King, and involves the consideration of constitutional questions, it would not be possible for me, in this work, to enter into the questions involved.

King Charles was called upon to assume the reins of Government at a time of great public difficulty. Parliament, which had begun to assert itself even under Elizabeth, had made rapid strides in power under James I.; and on the accession of Charles it was obvious to everyone that a great struggle for supremacy was impending between the Crown and the people as represented in Parliament. It would probably have been impossible for any King, however wise and prudent, to have averted this struggle, or to have avoided considerable diminution of the Royal authority, but a man of judgment and tact, who had known how to read the signs of the times, might, I think, have so guided the contest as to have retained in his own hands such a degree of influence and power as would have made the position of the English Sovereigns, for some centuries at any rate, very different to what it actually became. Whether this would have been an advantage to the people may, however, well be doubted. I do not think it is claimed for King Charles that he was a man of any special ability, and I think it is admitted that in those qualities which were specially called for at the moment—judgment, knowledge of character, and the power of accommodating himself to circumstances, he was singularly deficient. He was a man by nature conscientious, domestic, and affectionate, and no one has called in question either the purity of his morals or the sincerity of his religion; but he was at once obstinate and weak, tenacious in small matters, and never knowing when to give way, or when to hold fast, and he was utterly untrustworthy. In saying this I do not mean that he was, at all events in the early years of his reign, deliberately insincere, for though he often said that which was not in fact true and promised that which he ought to have known he could not perform, I believe that for the moment he believed what he said and meant to do what he promised. The result, however, on the mind of the nation was much the same as if he had been the most deliberate dissembler. The most solemn promises were broken almost as soon as they were made, friends whom he had undertaken to support were

easily thrown over, and hopes which he had raised were constantly disappointed, and the result was that no one, not even those who loved him most, could venture to depend upon him.

Charles at his accession committed two grave mistakes. He retained in power his father's favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and he married the Catholic Princess, Henrietta Maria of France. Villiers was a man who concealed under a most fascinating manner and some showy accomplishments an utter want of principle and of all ability adequate to his position. His ambition was boundless, and his vanity and presumption and his levity were almost phenomenal. He failed and failed egregiously in every employment, military or diplomatic, which he undertook; and in the three years during which he survived the King's accession, and during which he was virtually Prime Minister, he succeeded in embroiling the King with nearly every State in Europe, and with every class of his subjects. Before his death Villiers had raised up against himself a body of enemies, both in England and abroad, which was at once so powerful and so determined to destroy him, that it cannot be doubted that if he had not fallen under the knife of the assassin when he did, he would have preceded the Earl of Strafford to the block; for Charles could and would no more have saved him in the long run, than he could or did afterwards save Strafford, who succeeded Villiers in the King's friendship and confidence, and who was at any rate a far abler man.

In justice to Charles, however, it must be said that he was brought under the influence of Villiers at a time when he was himself a mere boy, and when Villiers, who was eight years his senior, was in the very zenith of his powers. From that time forth Villiers consistently put forth on Charles' behalf those powers of captivation which must have been remarkable, as their influence seems to have been felt by almost every one whom he wished to please.

Charles' second error was his marriage. For a long time before the death of James I. negotiations had been pending for a marriage between Charles and a Spanish Princess, the

sister of King Philip IV. of Spain. For the reasons which induced King James to desire this marriage I must refer my readers to the general History of England, and more particularly to the late Mr Martin Humes' book, "The Court of Philip IV.;" but it is certain that he *did* desire it, and that in 1623 Lord Bristol, his ambassador at the Spanish Court, had, by the exercise of great diplomatic ability, brought negotiations to a point which seemed to be satisfactory. At this juncture, however, Prince Charles committed an escapade which was destined to have serious results. He had, no doubt, heard of the romantic adventures which had attended the marriages of his grandfather, James V. and Magdalene of France, and of his own father and mother, and he determined to imitate the example of his progenitors, and win his bride for himself. Accordingly, he and the Duke of Buckingham set out for Spain, and arrived there in the disguise of servants. They were, of course, immediately recognised, and the greatest confusion ensued. Buckingham, who was always insanely jealous of every one who had obtained any reputation for success in any department of life, was extremely jealous of the credit which Bristol had obtained for his management of the marriage treaty; and apparently in order to thwart Bristol, and for no other particular reason, he set himself with vehemence to break off the marriage. Accordingly, he brought all his influence to bear against it on King James and the Prince—he quarrelled with the Spanish Ministers—he affronted the prejudices of the Spanish Court, and generally he behaved like a mischievous school boy, with the result that almost at the last moment Charles suddenly broke off the marriage and departed for England. The Spaniards were deeply incensed, and a long and disastrous alienation between the two countries ensued, while Charles, instead of returning to England the admired hero of a romantic adventure, was generally held to have made himself not a little ridiculous. If he had only known it, however, he had escaped a great danger, for his marriage with the Catholic Princess was profoundly unpopular; and if he had understood the attitude of his future subjects,

he would have at once looked out for a wife who would have shared his and their sufficiently pronounced religious opinions.

The lesson, however, was not learnt. Charles did not choose to accept a wife of less exalted rank than the Princess whom he had rejected, and he at once entered into a treaty for a marriage with Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of Henry IV., King of France, and sister of the reigning King Louis XIII.

At this time all the Catholic European powers were greatly exercised in mind as to the position of the English and Irish Catholics, which was, in truth, deplorable. The Spanish King, as part of the treaty for the marriage between his daughter and Charles, had stipulated for the relaxation of the persecutions against the Catholics, and James I. and his son had agreed, at all events to a great extent, to accede to his demands.

The Ministers of Louis XIII., for the honour of France as well as of religion, could do no less than had been done by the Spaniards, and the result was a secret treaty by the English King and Prince of Wales (they did not dare to make it public) which virtually provided for the suspension of the penal laws. Catholics were to be allowed "Greater freedom of religion than they could have claimed in virtue of the Spanish match without molestation to their persons or property or conscience" (see Lingard's History of England).

It is difficult to suppose that Charles ever believed that he could give effect to this treaty, and, in fact, he was utterly unable to do so. In the seventeenth century, hatred and fear of the Catholics in the great body of the English nation had risen to a point little short of mania; and these feelings had been raised to their highest point by the prospect of the King's marrying a Catholic Princess. Consequently, the landing of Henrietta in England was the signal for a storm of intolerance and bigotry which Charles had neither the courage nor the power to resist, and to which he in fact submitted with hardly a show of resistance. The penal laws, instead of being suspended, were made more stringent, and enforced with bitter

cruelty; and the position of Charles' Catholic subjects was rendered even more wretched than it had been before. It is needless to say that Charles' conduct was deeply resented by Catholics all over the world, and I do not think that any impartial person studying his dealings with his Catholic subjects, as they are recorded even by his panegyrists, can much wonder that, to this day, his memory is regarded by the majority of Catholics with peculiar detestation.

In another much smaller matter, King Charles' behaviour in regard to his marriage is illustrative of, I will not say his insincerity, but of his infirmity of purpose. He had agreed and bound himself by treaty that the new Queen should be attended in England by a retinue of Ecclesiastics and other French men and women, which was excessively large—large indeed beyond all precedent or usage, and, as it seems to me, large beyond all reason. Of course, the Queen's followers, at once foreigners and Catholics, were regarded with the utmost hostility, and I am bound to say that the Queen herself, excusable, perhaps, on account of her youth, and the leading Ecclesiastics of her train (who ought to have known better) behaved with a want of the commonest prudence or good sense. As the result the Court was disturbed with the continual bickerings between the Catholic and Protestant Clergy, and the difficulties of the King were intensely aggravated. After bearing this state of things for a few months, Charles relieved his feelings by dismissing almost the whole of the Queen's retinue summarily, and with very little attention to courtesy. Of course, his position was intensely difficult, but its difficulties were precisely those which a man of ordinary foresight ought to have foreseen; and I do not think a man is to be excused for breaking his word because it is difficult to keep it. Charles' punishment, however, was severe, for he not only seriously impaired his domestic happiness for some years, but his proceedings had the effect of irritating and injuring his credit with both parties.

The King's difficulties with his Parliaments began with his reign, and after 1628, finding the Parliaments wholly

recalcitrant, he attempted for some years the experiment of governing without a Parliament—an experiment as dangerous as it was illegal. The result was what might have been expected, and when he was at length compelled to meet the Commons, that which had been sullen resistance had developed into active rebellion, and the great Civil War commenced. On the 12th of August 1642 the King raised his Standard at Nottingham, and shortly afterwards the first battle, that of Edge Hill, was fought. If this had, as might easily have been the case, resulted in a distinct victory for the King, probably the whole course of events would have been changed; but the advantage, which at one time had been obtained by the Royal forces, was lost by the rashness and imprudence of Charles' nephew, Prince Rupert of the Palatinate (the son of his sister Elizabeth), and the battle was, at the least, a drawn one.

To trace the progress of the Civil War is not my purpose, but in August 1646, the King's cause in England appearing to be desperate, he delivered himself up to a Scotch army which had marched into England, and subsequently the Scotch leaders, very much to their discredit, deliberately sold him to the English Parliament for a price. In February 1647 he was brought as a prisoner to Holmby House, whence he was transferred to Childesly, near Cambridge, and from there to Hampton Court. From Hampton Court, on the 11th of November 1647, he escaped, but he was immediately retaken, and conducted to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, where he remained for a little over a year. In December 1648 and the beginning of 1649, the House of Commons passed a series of resolutions to the effect that the King, by levying war against the nation, had been guilty of high treason, and it was resolved to bring him to trial on that charge. The trial commenced in Westminster Hall on the 20th of January 1649, and, as was a foregone conclusion, the King was condemned to death. He was beheaded at Whitehall on the 30th of January 1649, in his forty-ninth year. He is buried at Windsor.

From the moment, however, of his captivity a strong reaction in his favour set in, a reaction which, though for eleven years it was kept in check by the stern rule of Oliver Cromwell, made steady if slow progress, and resulted in 1660 in the restoration of Charles' eldest son as Charles II.

In the seventeenth century few, even of those who were most inclined to resist the encroachments of the Royal authority, could endure the spectacle of an anointed King languishing in captivity, still less his public execution under the forms of law; and the feelings of the community were immensely touched by the personal demeanour of the King during his trial, and at the last moments of his life, than which it would be impossible to imagine anything more impressive, either in its Kingly dignity or its noble resignation. King Charles, who had inherited all the personal beauty and grace of his ancestors, had also inherited that power which enabled nearly all the Stuart Princes to win over so many of their enemies, and to enlist the almost passionate devotion of their friends; and by those who saw him at the last, his faults were forgotten, and he was exalted to the rank of a Saint and Martyr. This feeling has continued even to the present day, and there are still some who regard Charles I. almost as the incarnation of romantic dignity, and as the victim of cruel and unjust rebellion.

King Charles enjoys the unique advantage of quasi-canonization in the Church of England, an annual service having been instituted in his memory, and several Churches being dedicated to the Almighty, if not under the patronage, at least in the honour, of "King Charles the Martyr."

For myself, I do not know to what principle he fell a martyr, unless it be that of the "Divine right of Kings," which seems to me, if it means anything at all, to mean the Divine right of Kings to do as they like. I do not know if at the present day there are to be found any who seriously defend this principle, but to me, I must frankly admit, it is at once absurd and abhorrent. I think that a King is as much bound to obey the laws of his country as the meanest of his subjects;

and that, when, as sometimes happens, there are *no* defined laws except the will of the Sovereign, the Sovereign is and ought to be made amendable to the laws of natural justice. In King Charles' case, however, the laws of the country were well known and well defined, and that he broke them and openly rebelled against them can, I think, hardly be denied. Therefore, I do not think his death substantially unjust.

In the case, however, of the head of any State it is always difficult to say how or by what procedure he can or ought to be brought to justice ; and, while I think that the sentence upon Charles I. is in the main just, I am by no means prepared to defend the particular course which was adopted in his prosecution, and still less to defend the characters (which, indeed, for the most part seem to me to have been abominable) of the men, at once his enemies and his judges, by whom he was brought to justice.

King Charles I.'s wife, Henrietta Maria of France, was the youngest daughter of Henry IV. (sometimes called the Great), and his wife, Marie de Medicis, a Queen whose career is tolerably well known to most readers. Henrietta was born on the 25th of November 1609, and five months later her father was assassinated in the streets of Paris. Her father, whatever may be thought of his moral qualities, was certainly a man of great ability, but he had his weaknesses, one of which was belief in the predictions of fortune tellers. He had been told that if his wife was crowned he would not survive the event for twenty-four hours ; and, therefore, it was not till after the birth of his youngest child that he could be induced to give his consent to the Queen's Coronation, though, as he must have been well aware, common prudence required that she *should* be crowned. In those days the Coronation of a Sovereign was regarded as a religious rite which perfected his or her title to the Throne. A King was hardly regarded as being really a King until after his Coronation, and his wife was hardly regarded as being truly his wife until she had been solemnly seated on his Throne as his Queen. As an illustration of this I may mention that Henrietta, wife of Charles I., having

refused on conscientious grounds to share in her husband's Coronation, which was performed with Anglican rites, was afterwards made to suffer bitterly from the consequences of her refusal; for when in after years, and as an exile, she demanded payment of the dower to which as Queen of England she was entitled, Cromwell answered that as she had not been crowned she had not been recognised as Queen, and on that ground, nominally at any rate, he refused payment.

Marie de Medicis, however, carried her point, and was duly crowned on the 13th of May 1610, and on the 14th of May, the day following, in fulfilment it was said of the prophecy, Henry IV. was murdered by a crazy fanatic name Ravaillac. The true explanation of the matter probably is that the rumour of the prophecy having been spread abroad, belief in its fulfilment first suggested to Ravaillac the idea of murdering the King, and then nerved him to carry out the idea.

The death of Henry IV. was followed by stormy times in France, and the young Henrietta as a child served her full apprenticeship in the troubles and turmoils of which, as a woman, she experienced so many. She was married by proxy to King Charles on the 8th of May 1625, and then proceeded to England, and she was married to the King in person at Canterbury, according to the rites of the Church of England, on the 23rd day of June in the same year. At the date of the marriage she was in her sixteenth year.

The early years of their married life were rendered stormy by religious differences between the King and Queen, but as the years went on and their troubles began to accumulate, though each retained with unabated zeal his or her religious convictions, an affection sprang up between Charles and Henrietta, which ripened into a love, the depth and sincerity of which it is impossible to doubt.

The Queen espoused her husband's cause against his political opponents with zeal, but also with imprudence; for, being an outspoken and unreserved person, she not only gave great offence by the plainness, and even harshness, with which she expressed her views, but she occasionally let out secrets

with which she had been entrusted in the presence of her household, too many of whom were spies employed by her enemies.

In February 1641, on the occasion of the marriage of her eldest daughter with the Prince of Orange, Henrietta escorted the young Princess to Holland, and there succeeded in raising a large loan for the use of her husband. On her return a year later, when the war had broken out, an attempt was made to intercept her by Parliament, from which she escaped with great difficulty and no little peril of her life. On this occasion, having escaped from a house which was being cannonaded, she remembered that she had left behind her a pet dog of which she was extremely fond, and with equal courage and imprudence she went back to the house alone, and at the imminent risk of her own life succeeded in carrying off her little favourite. The anecdote is fairly characteristic of Queen Henrietta, who was at all times warm hearted and impulsive, and never very wise or prudent.

For the next two years the Queen was in the thick of the contest, and played her part with all her courage, if not with the ability of her distinguished father, but in June 1644, after her confinement at the birth of her youngest child, the Princess Henrietta, it became impossible for the Queen to remain longer in England, and she escaped, not without difficulty, to France. There she was received with much kindness by the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, the widow of her brother Louis XIII, who granted her an adequate income, and assigned to her as residences the Palace of the Louvre and the ancient Chateau of St. Germain. Henrietta's whole soul, however, was bound up in the affairs of her husband, and as she deprived herself of all the luxuries and most of the comforts of life in order to send money to her husband and sons, her life in France was for many years one of great retirement and obscurity. She had, however, after the year 1646, the comfort of having with her her youngest child the Princess Henrietta, to whom she became attached with an almost idolatrous affection. This little girl she had been obliged to leave in England with her other children, but in 1646 the child's gover-

ness, Lady Morton, disguising herself as a servant, and her charge as a little boy, succeeded in making her escape and bringing the young Princess to her mother. Queen Henrietta was also visited from time to time by her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, who, happily for himself, never fell into the clutches of his father's enemies; and the Queen occupied herself in making strenuous efforts to bring about a match between the Prince and her own niece, the celebrated Mdle. de Montpensier, whose own account of the courtship of the Royal mother and son is extremely amusing. I do not understand and never shall understand the principle of the titles of honour borne by the French nobility and more particularly by the French Royal Family; but this Mdle. de Montpensier was the only child of the first marriage of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII., and of Queen Henrietta, and she was therefore a Princess, and at this time the first unmarried Princess of the French Royal Family. She was not only a handsome, clever woman, but, in right of her mother, one of the greatest heiresses in Europe, and, therefore, this marriage would have been an extremely good one for the impoverished Prince of Wales. The lady, however, was extremely ambitious, and much inclined to look down upon her English relatives, and, though she was amused and somewhat flattered at the courtship, she was by no means disposed to throw herself away, as she thought she would be doing, by accepting the young Charles.

After reading in her memoirs her extremely vivacious and somewhat ill-natured remarks about the tactics of her aunt Henrietta, one cannot help feeling some satisfaction in knowing that after going through the wood she eventually picked up the broken stick, and, having declined a series of great alliances, she eventually compromised her own position and happiness by trying to marry the somewhat disreputable Duc de Lauzan, who was neither in point of birth, fortune, or character a suitable match. It is sometimes said she did actually marry him, but this seems very doubtful. (See "Lauzan Courtier and Adventurer," by Mary F. Saunders.)

In 1648 the Civil War, known as the war of the Fronde, between the Queen Regent and the Parliament broke out in France, and Queen Henrietta, though she had friends on both sides, was at times in danger of her life during the Siege of Paris. Moreover, by the stoppage of her income she was reduced to such extremities of poverty that she was found by the Cardinal de Retz sitting by the bedside of her little girl, who was unable to get up because, in the depth of winter, the Queen was unable to buy fuel for the necessary fires to warm her. It was in the midst of these troubles that the Queen received the news of the execution of her husband. Her grief was profound, and from that time she seems to have for a long time lost her spirit, and the ensuing years present, so far as she is concerned, no point of public interest.

The events which led to the Restoration of Charles II. were so sudden, and, to all who were not immediately cognizant of the state of public feeling in England, so unexpected that it came with a shock of surprise to the great majority of persons; and to no one more than to the King's mother, who before this seems almost to have given up hope.

The Restoration was established in May 1660, but Henrietta did not go to England until the following October, being detained in part by the festivities attending the marriage of her nephew, Louis XIV., with the Princess Maria Teresa of Spain, and in part by the negotiations for the marriage of that King's brother, the Duke of Orleans (who had succeeded his uncle Gaston in that title), with her own daughter, the Princess Henrietta of England. She and her daughter Henrietta, on arriving in England, were received by King Charles II., who had been already crowned, with much state, but the visit was profoundly sad.

The Queen's grief for her husband was lasting and sincere, and was revived in all its intensity by the sight of the scenes so intimately connected with him and his death. Her second daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, had died in prison in 1650. Her third son, the Duke of Gloucester (from whom she had parted in enmity in 1654), had died suddenly of the small-pox

in London not six weeks before her coming, and her eldest daughter, the Princess of Orange, died in London of the same disease within two months after her arrival. Though the Queen had seen little or nothing of these children, it was impossible that their deaths should not have added greatly to her afflictions. Moreover, the Court of Charles II. was very uncongenial to his mother, the propriety of whose personal conduct has never been called in question. The King had celebrated his Restoration by plunging into a course of open and undisguised debauchery, which his mother could not have witnessed without sorrow and shame. Moreover, her second son, the Duke of York, had recently married a lady, Anne Hyde, of very inferior rank and position, and though Henrietta was ultimately induced to acknowledge the marriage, it was a severe blow to her family pride, which was very great. Lastly, under the thin veil of the rejoicings of the Restoration, it was impossible for anyone of any penetration not to see that the old troubles still existed—that further contests between the King and Parliament might break forth at any moment, and that the popular hatred against the Catholic religion was as strong as ever. Under these circumstances Queen Henrietta would willingly have returned to settle permanently in her native land, where her youngest daughter (whom she seems to have loved passionately and almost to the exclusion of her other children) was to marry and to live, where her religion was respected, and where she was surrounded by her relatives and the friends of her youth. This, however, was made impossible by the conditions of her jointure, which, though it had been restored by King Charles, Parliament, was made practically conditional on her spending it in England. Accordingly, though she returned to France in January 1661 to be present at the marriage of Princess Henrietta, and remained there for eighteen months, Queen Henrietta came back to England in July 1662 and took up her residence at Somerset House, where she lived in great retirement for several years. In June 1665, however, it having become evident that her health was breaking up, she

obtained leave to return to France, and she lived there till her death in August 1669, having then entered upon her sixty-first year. She was buried at the Abbey of St Denis, the place of burial of the French Kings, but when at the French Revolution the Abbey was desecrated, and the bones of the Royal dead cast out from their tombs, the first coffin that was opened and despoiled was that of Queen Henrietta of England.

Henrietta Maria is said to have been very pretty in her youth, but her beauty probably depended on her vivacity and expression, and in her middle life she is described as having become very wizen and unpleasing in appearance. She was not a woman of any ability or judgment, and, though she was undoubtedly deeply and sincerely religious, the exhibitions she made of her religious zeal were frequently uncalled for by any true principle, and it is difficult not to suspect that in her earlier years they were induced as much by the desire to snub the English courtiers, and it may be, her husband, as by sincere piety, and her strenuous attempts to forcibly convert her son, the Duke of Gloucester, to the Catholic religion, to which I must refer later on, appear to me to be unjustifiable. In her later years, however, the defects of her youth had to a great extent worn off, and when she died she had few enemies, and many tender and loving friends. (See "*The Life of Queen Henrietta Maria*," by Ida A. Taylor.)

CHAPTER XXX.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH.—HENRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—
MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE.—CHARLES II.

CHARLES I. and Henrietta Maria had nine children, of whom three died as infants, and two in their youth. The children were (1) Charles, who was born and died on the 13th of May 1628. (2) Charles, afterwards Charles II., born May 29th, 1630. (3) Mary, afterwards Princess of Orange, born on the 4th of November 1631. (4) James, afterwards James II., born October 14th, 1633. (5) Elizabeth, born January 28th, 1635. (6) Anne, who was born on the 17th of March 1637 and died in 1640. (7) Katharine, born the 29th of January 1639 and who died the same day. (8) Henry, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, born 8th of July 1640, and (9) Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, born June 16th, 1644.

I propose to deal first with Elizabeth and Henry, who died unmarried, then with the Princess of Orange, then with Charles II., who left no lawful children, then with James II. and his descendants, amongst whom I shall include his nephew and son-in-law, King William III. of England, the only child of his sister Mary, and lastly, the Duchess of Orleans and her descendants, many of whom, though excluded from the English Throne by the Act of Settlement passed in the reign of William III., still live and flourish.

Princess Elizabeth was born on the 28th of January 1635, and she was not yet seven when the Civil War was actually declared. Her two elder brothers, Charles and James, were with the King, and her elder sister Mary was in Holland, but the King's three younger children, Elizabeth, Henry, and Henrietta fell into the hands of the Parliamentary Party in

1644. The Princess Henrietta, as has been said, was speedily carried to France, but Elizabeth and Henry remained as State prisoners, living chiefly in St James' Palace in London, until the execution of their father in 1649. It is, however, fair to say that they seem in the first instance to have been treated with the respect due to their rank, and with as much kindness as was compatible with their safe keeping.

In 1645, when Elizabeth was ten years old, her elder brother James, Duke of York, was taken prisoner at Oxford, and sent to join Elizabeth and Henry at St. James' Palace, and he remained there as a captive until the 21st of April 1648, when he succeeded in making his escape to Holland. The plans for this evasion seem to have been concocted by the young prisoners, James and Elizabeth, with little assistance from outside, and great skill and courage. For a long time before the date fixed they pretended every evening to play elaborate games of hide and seek for the amusement of their little brother; and they took immense pains to suggest, and get suggested to them, out of the way hiding places. On the evening of the 21st of April, James induced one of the gardeners to lend him the key of a gardener's lodge, from which he was aware that he could escape from the Palace, on the ground that the lodge would be an excellent place of concealment. Having got out of the Palace in this way he made his way in the dress of a girl, furnished for him by his sister, to the river side, where he was taken on board a Dutch skiff, which for some time past had been waiting for him. Meantime the Princess pretended to be busy looking for James, with the unfeigned assistance of Prince Henry, and thus no suspicion of James' flight was aroused till he had been gone for fully an hour.

Before King Charles' death he solicited and obtained an interview with his two young children, Elizabeth and Henry, of whom the elder was barely thirteen. The account of the meeting is extremely touching, and the young Princess, who was sensitive beyond her years, seems to have pined away from that time.

After the execution of the King the Monarchy was abolished, and Elizabeth and her younger brother were sent to Carisbrooke Castle, with instructions that they were to be treated as if they were the children of a private gentleman, and there, on the 1st of September 1650, Elizabeth died in her fifteenth year. She is buried at Carisbrooke.

All accounts of her agree that she was a child of precocious piety and intelligence, and with great promise of beauty.

Sufficient indications of sympathy with the Royal family were given by the public after the death of the Princess, to make Cromwell uneasy as to the consequences if any mishap should befall the young Prince Henry ; and as the boy's two elder brothers, were at large, his custody was of no great consequence. It was, therefore, determined to send the young Prince to his sister the Princess of Orange, and accordingly, early in the year 1653, he arrived at the Hague. He was born on the 8th of July 1640, and, though he is usually spoken of from his birth as "the Duke of Gloucester," the actual patent creating him Earl of Cambridge and Duke of Gloucester was not signed by Charles II. till May 1659, a year before the Restoration.

After a short stay at the Hague, Henry was sent for to join his mother, Queen Henrietta, in Paris ; and thereupon a sharp contest arose in the Royal family as to the religion in which he was to be educated. The Queen had been allowed, without opposition from anyone, to bring up her youngest daughter, who was only two when she went to France, in her own faith ; and, indeed, it is difficult to see how Henrietta as a Catholic, and living in a Catholic country, in which the Protestant religion was, in Court circles at any rate, almost unknown, could possibly have done otherwise.

The case, however, was different when the Queen proposed, by somewhat high-handed measures, to convert a boy already turned thirteen and who had, from his earliest infancy, been educated in the strictest tenets of the most extreme Protestant party. Without entering into any general question as to what influence the Queen was entitled to bring to bear on her young

son, I think it is clear that what she did do, was wrong. She subjected her son first to the undue influence of bribes, for he was told repeatedly how much it would be to his future temporal advantage and personal gratification if he, an almost penniless exile in France, would conform to the religion of the country; and when he refused to succumb to these inducements, he was subjected to something not far short of personal ill-treatment. Like all his family the Prince was high-spirited and sufficiently obstinate; and encouraged by the messages of his brother, King Charles II., of his sister, the Princess of Orange, and of his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia; and by the personal assistance and sympathy of his brother James, who was then in Paris and a decided Protestant, he opposed an unexpected resistance to his mother, notwithstanding that she was backed up by the whole weight of the French Court. The affair made some little stir, but ultimately Henry was ordered to leave Paris and join his brother Charles, who was then at Cologne, and he did so in December 1654. Before he left he sought to obtain an interview with the Queen, which was harshly refused, and he never saw her again.

In the interval between the beginning of 1655 and the Restoration, Prince Henry was the constant companion of his elder brothers, and they were, all three, more or less hangers-on at the Court of their sister Mary, thereby involving her in a good many disputes with the States General of Holland.

Gloucester accompanied his brother to England at the Restoration in May 1660, and, as has been already said, he died of small-pox in the following September, having completed his twentieth year. He is buried at Westminster Abbey.

It may be here mentioned that the title of Gloucester had been vacant from the accession of Richard III., until it was revived in this Prince.

Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., was born on the 29th of November 1631, and on the 2nd of May 1641 she was solemnly betrothed to William, only son of Frederick Henry Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of the United States of

Holland. There is no country in Europe, the history of which repays attention more than the Kingdom of the Netherlands ; but it is sufficient for my purpose to say here that it originally consisted of seven Provinces, each governed by a separate Prince, and of which Holland (which now gives its name to the whole country known as the Kingdom of the Netherlands) was the chief. The Emperor, Charles V., and his son, Philip II. of Spain, were the lineal descendants of the old Counts of Holland (one of whom, it may remembered, married a daughter of Edward I. of England), and as such became in their time the Rulers of the Netherlands ; but in the reign of Philip II. (temp. Elizabeth) the Provinces rebelled and established themselves as a Republic, under the name of the United States of Holland. This Republic so rapidly increased in power that in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. it is not too much to say that it was probably the most powerful naval state in Europe. The United States of Holland were, to a large extent, under the Government of the Princes of Orange, this arrangement having been brought about by the signal ability of William, Prince of Orange, who was born in 1533 (temp. Henry VIII.), and is known in history as William the Silent. The Princes of Orange derived their title from a tiny Principality in the south of France, which, in the reign of Louis XIV., was absorbed into that Kingdom ; and William the Silent had no hereditary or other right to the Government of Holland, and was elected to the office of Stadtholder merely on account of his military genius. This office was originally held for life only, and gave to its holder supreme authority in military and naval matters, but little or no direct civil power. Nevertheless, from the time of William the Silent there was almost, continuously, a more or less acute struggle between the Princes of Orange, each of whom was elected for life and the States ; the Princes endeavouring to get the office of Stadtholder recognized as an hereditary and quasi Royal dignity, whereas a large party in the States earnestly desired to retain their Republican Institutions. In this struggle, though not until nearly two centuries after the

death of Princess Mary, the Princes were ultimately successful ; and in 1813 William Frederick, Prince of Orange, became King William I. of the Netherlands.

Frederick Henry, the father of Mary's husband, was the son of William the Silent ; and it may here be mentioned that the descendants in the male line of William the Silent, became extinct on the death of Frederick Henry's grandson, William III. of England, and that William I., King of the Netherlands, who was the great grandfather of the present Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, was descended in the male line, not from the first Stadtholder, William the Silent, but from his brother.

When a marriage was first proposed between the son of the Stadtholder and the daughter of the King of England, such a marriage was regarded by many persons, both in England and on the Continent, as highly derogatory to the King's dignity, inasmuch as the rank of the Princes of Orange as such was very inferior, and the position which Prince Frederick Henry held as Stadtholder was not assured to his son. Nevertheless, an alliance between the two countries seemed likely to be, as whenever it has existed it has always proved to be, in fact, so beneficial to both countries that King Charles put his pride in his pocket, and with unusual wisdom, not only entertained the proposal, but when the young Prince William arrived in England, received him as if he had been the son of a reigning Monarch. At the date of the betrothal the Prince was fifteen and the Princess Mary in her tenth year, and it was originally intended that she should remain under her parents' care until she was of a marriageable age. Events, however, soon proved that she would be safer in Holland ; and in February 1642 she was taken thither by her mother who, as has been said, seized that opportunity to raise a Dutch loan for her distressed husband.

In November 1643 the Princess, having completed her twelfth year, and the Prince being seventeen, William and Mary were married, and there is every reason to believe that during the short period of their married life they were ex-

tremely attached to one another. In March 1647 Prince Frederick Henry died, and was succeeded in the office of Stadtholder by his son, Prince William II. of Orange. He was a young man of great ability, courage, and ambition, and it is not improbable that if he had lived he would have done that which he and his wife greatly desired, and converted the States into a Kingdom of which he would have been first King. He died, however, suddenly in November 1650, nearly two years after the execution of Charles I., and in his twenty-fifth year. Eight days later the widowed Princess Mary gave birth to her only child, afterwards William III. of England.

Grave questions immediately arose, first, whether the infant Prince should be recognized as Stadtholder, and secondly, who should be trusted with his personal guardianship. On the first point all the members of the Orange family were united, and made strenuous efforts to get the child at once elected to his father's office, but it was argued with force that the office being in its nature military, it was absurd to elect to it an infant in arms, and, in fact, William III. did not become Stadtholder till long after his mother's death. On the other point, however, a serious contest arose between the child's mother, who was barely twenty, and her husband's mother, Amelia of Solms, the widow of Prince Frederick Henry; and this was ultimately settled by the establishment of a council of three, to be composed of the two ladies and the Elector of Brandenburg, who had married one of William II.'s sisters. There was, however, a provision that Mary's single vote should carry as much weight as the two votes of the Princess Amelia and the Elector.

Inasmuch as the young Prince William held no direct office in the State, his mother, as his guardian, or rather one of his guardians, had no recognized authority in political matters; but she was a pretty pleasing young woman, with some ability and considerable ambition, and as she seems to have been fairly popular with the Dutch people, and especially with the lower orders, she did, in fact, exercise not a little influence in the various intrigues which at that time agitated

the nation. In particular, there was one burning question in which she was much interested, and this was the attitude to be taken by the Dutch in English politics. Their alliance was of immense importance, and was eagerly courted both by the exiled Charles II. and by the Lord Protector Cromwell, and party spirit in Holland ran high upon the point. Mary thought that if her brother was established on the Throne of England, the chances of her son being elected Stadtholder and recognized as hereditary Ruler of Holland would be enormously increased; and, moreover, though she had left England as a child, her family affections or, at all events, her affection for her brothers seems to have been remarkably strong. Consequently she threw herself into the struggle, the details of which I shall pass over, with intense eagerness, and her little Court became the centre of all the Royalist intrigues and conspiracies. Her brothers, though they were repeatedly ordered to leave Holland by the State authorities, who had made an alliance with Cromwell, were constantly hanging about, living sometimes just over the borders of the country, sometimes at Breda, a town in Holland, which was the private property of the Princes of Orange, and sometimes in defiance of the States, as more or less secret visitors at Mary's Court at the Hague; and they were to a large extent supported out of the private income of their sister. It may well be doubted how far this line of conduct on the part of the Princess was justifiable, for there can be no doubt that her behaviour was a constant source of anxiety and embarrassment to the States, of which on her marriage she had become a subject. In her defence, however, it may be said that she was supported by a large body of the people, many of whom seem to have regarded the English Princes with considerable favour.

Charles II. and his brothers were in Holland when in the beginning of 1660 he was invited by the Parliament to return to England; and the event seems to have been hailed by all parties in Holland as a subject for national rejoicing, and the King departed from Schrevening amidst popular acclamation and loaded with gifts.

It would, however, appear that the memory of offences committed in the earlier years of his exile outweighed his gratitude for the substantial favours received at the last, for it is certain that Charles II. always retained a lively dislike for the Dutch nation, which, as time went on, they probably reciprocated, and certainly during the scene of enthusiasm which attended King Charles' embarkation, no one could have foreseen that within a few years the English and the Dutch would be engaged in a fearful struggle, disastrous to both nations, and humiliating in the extreme to the English. On the 30th of September 1660, Mary having established her son, then in his eleventh year, at the University at Leydon, set out on a visit to the English Court. She was met on her arrival by news of the death by small-pox of her youngest brother, the Duke of Gloucester; and within three months, on the 25th of December in the same year, she herself died of the same disease, having just entered upon her thirtieth year. She is buried at Westminster Abbey.

Mary's last moments were embittered by the marriage, or rather the public declaration of the marriage, of her favourite brother, James, Duke of York, with Anne Hyde, who was the daughter of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and who had been one of her own Maids of Honour. To this marriage I must refer later, and I will only say here that it was bitterly resented both by the Queen Mother and by the Princess of Orange, both of whom have been accused of having played a very discreditable part with reference to it. As regards the Queen Henrietta, the charge seems to me to be disproved; and as regards the Princess, it rests on very shadowy and unreliable evidence (see Mrs. Everett Greene's "*Lives of the Princesses of England*").

I must now turn to King Charles II.

The events which followed the execution of Charles I. are tolerably familiar to everyone. The English Parliament proclaimed the dissolution of the Monarchy, but the Scotch sent messages to the young Charles II. offering him the Scotch Crown conditionally on his signing the Covenant—

that solemn Covenant with the Almighty into which they had entered, and in the name of which so many crimes were to be committed. Charles was naturally reluctant to put his name to an instrument originally directed against his father, and the signing of which would be almost equally offensive to the Irish Catholics and the English High Churchmen: but after the defeat and execution of the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, upon whom he had relied in opposition to the Covenanters, he yielded. He went to Scotland, was there crowned, and there signed the Covenant, an act of hypocrisy which it is difficult to excuse or forgive. After this Charles marched into England at the head of a Scotch army, and, was completely and, as it seemed, hopelessly defeated at the Battle of Worcester in 1651. Two years later Cromwell was proclaimed Protector of the Kingdom; and it was not until his death in September 1658 that there appeared to be the smallest hope of the Restoration of the Stuarts. After that event, however, the reaction which had been held in check by Cromwell's iron hand made rapid progress, and within twenty months Charles was invited to return to England, and was there received by the nation and crowned King, amidst what seemed to be a perfect delirium of joy.

The new King had passed his boyhood and early youth in the midst of battle, sieges, and military operations of all kinds; and then and on the expedition into England above-mentioned, he displayed his full share of personal bravery. After the battle of Worcester he spent some weeks as a fugitive in the land, hiding in all sorts of places and under all sorts of disguises, and incurring adventures and hairbreadth escapes which have been the subject of innumerable ballads and stories, and which invested him with a halo of romance, which was of great service to him both in his own time and in the memory of posterity. It was at this time that he lay concealed for a day amongst the branches of an oak tree under which the Parliamentary soldiers were continually passing, and from this circumstance the Royalist party adopted oak leaves as a kind of badge, and were for many years accustomed to wear them on the

anniversary of the King's escape. Scott, in his delightful novel of "Woodstock," describes the King at this period, and in another very inferior story, "Peveril of the Peak," he describes him in his middle age, and both portraits are historically accurate and life like.

On the 16th of October 1651 Charles made his escape to France, and his life during the next nine years was enervating in the extreme, and consequently his character rapidly deteriorated. Cromwell made peace successively with Holland and with France, and the King, expelled from both countries, had to live where best he could. He was sometimes treated with respect and sometimes with contempt, he was constantly changing his abode, always desperately pressed for money and always surrounded by a small group of dissolute followers who, dependent on him for the necessaries of life, flattered his vanity and pandered to his vices.

Of the events of his actual reign, which lasted from the Restoration in May 1660 till his death on the 6th of February 1685—a period of nearly twenty-five years—neither the space at my disposal nor the subject of this book make it possible for me to speak. They were, however, of the greatest interest, and I am bound to say that they reflect little credit on the King or his advisers. Charles was, at different times, at war with France, Holland, and Spain. In his later years he was at constant issue with the Parliaments, and great strides were made towards the establishment of the British Constitution as it now exists; and it would be almost impossible to count the number of small rebellions, plots, conspiracies, and intrigues of all kinds, the stories of which are told by the historians of his reign. It was he who sold Dunkirk to the French, it was under him that the Dutch sailed up the Thames as far as Gravesend and carried off, under the eyes of the nation, the "Royal Charles," one of the finest ships in the English navy, and it was under him that the last but by no means the least dreadful of these periodical outbursts of religious persecution which disgraced the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took place. The persecution I refer to was that which followed the

“plot” which the wretched Titus Oates pretended to discover, and under which every Catholic in the land, from the Queen on the Throne to the humblest artizan, more or less suffered, many being ruined and not a few being put to death under circumstances of extreme cruelty and ignominy. Lastly, it was under Charles II. that there happened two great public calamities which are still spoken of with horror and dismay—the great plague which desolated London and the infected districts, and the great Fire of London, which in a few hours destroyed the greater part of the City.

Probably, however, that which makes the reign of Charles II. most notable was the extraordinary and almost universal deterioration of public morals. The English Court under Edward IV., under Henry VIII., and under James I. had been dissolute enough, but under Charles II. it appears to have cast off every restraint of decency and decorum. The King went about constantly surrounded by the loose women and common harlots who constituted his harem, forcing them upon his unhappy wife, and flaunting them under the eyes of respectable citizens, until it had become almost impossible for any decent woman to frequent his Court, or to be seen in his company. King and courtiers alike plunged into every form of dissipation, extravagance, and riotous living, until half the great families in the Kingdom were more or less impoverished, and the courtiers were reduced to the most shameful expedients to raise the funds necessary for their debauchery. The King himself took bribes from Louis XIV. to serve the interests of France, and his ministers, his courtiers, and his mistresses were all, almost openly, in the pay of some Foreign State, sometimes it may be suspected of more than one. Every department of the public service was a mass of corruption, religion and the very idea of woman’s virtue or man’s integrity was openly derided, and literature, the theatre, and the decorative arts had become so grossly indecent that, despite the wit of much that was written and the beauty of much that was drawn, it is impossible to think of that period without some feeling of national shame.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHARLES II (*continued*).—KATHARINE OF PORTUGAL.—
JAMES SCOTT, DUKE OF MONMOUTH.—CHARLES'
NATURAL CHILDREN.—FRANCES STUART, DUCHESS
OF RICHMOND.

THE state of things described in the last chapter was in part the reaction from the unnatural austerity of the Puritan Rule under Cromwell; but for much the King was personally responsible. The character and personal qualities of King Charles have been much discussed and frequently described. His features were irregular and harsh, but he was a tall man with an upright carriage and very active in his movements. His abilities were considerable, and he was well informed on most subjects, and, in particular, he had a great taste for and knowledge of scientific matters. His conversation was remarkably brilliant and witty; his manners easy and pleasing, and, upon occasions, very stately; and he was by nature both affectionate and good humoured. All these good qualities were, however, vitiated by two pervading faults. He was morally intensely indolent; and, with a strong love of pleasure, intensely self indulgent. Thus, to save himself any sustained mental effort, he would sacrifice any principle however sacred; any pledge however solemn; or any advantage to himself or his Kingdom however great and obvious; and he could at all times be diverted from the most serious business by the tears and cajoleries of his mistresses, or by the chance of adding a new member to his harem. Instances of these, to speak mildly,—weaknesses are to be found in every page of his history. It is now generally admitted that he was, by conviction, a Catholic—that throughout his life he entertained

more or less shadowy views of adopting the Catholic religion, and that he was actually received into the Catholic Communion on his death-bed. Nevertheless, though he never for a moment pretended to believe in the stories told by Oates and his fellows, and he himself, by his own testimony could and *did* convict those persons of deliberate lies, he allowed his Catholic subjects, some of them his own personal friends, to be persecuted, ill-used, and in some cases put to a cruel death, on the evidence of these men, whom he knew, and admitted that he knew, to be liars. Charles had a remarkable knowledge of character, and he knew well, better perhaps than any other man living, the characters of the men and women by whom he was surrounded; he knew that many of them were utterly corrupt—that they were using their high offices to betray him and their country, and yet, though he was by no means without a latent sense of the virtues and duties of patriotism and justice, for the love of ease and to save himself trouble, he stood by, a passive, though sarcastic witness of crimes committed against himself and against all those whom he held dear, and all those principles which, in his heart he respected.

He was a King of whom one of his courtiers said that, “He never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise thing,” and it may be added that he habitually “saw the better part and chose the worse.”

Every rule, however, has its exception, and the consistency of Charles’ weakness is marked by one exception. He never could be induced to sacrifice his brother James, or his brother’s interests.

Charles was married to a woman whom he did not love or profess to love, and who had brought him no child; and failing his own issue the heir to the Throne was his brother James, Duke of York. The Queen and James were both Catholics. They were both, and James in particular, hated by the courtiers and by a large body of the people, and most if not all the difficulties of Charles’ reign were connected with their position. At all events, if that is going too far, most if

not all the conspiracies and plots which distracted the Kingdom were directed ostensibly against the Queen or the Duke of York. If Charles could have put away the Queen and dislodged the Duke from his position as heir presumptive, his position would have been comparatively safe, and the means of doing these things were not wanting. In his youth Charles had had a mistress named Lucy Walters, by marriage Barlow, who had survived his marriage with the Queen, and who had brought him a son named James, born in 1649, and who at the date of the Restoration was in his twelfth year, and a boy of remarkable beauty and apparent promise. Of this son the King was exceedingly fond and proud. In 1663 he created him Duke of Monmouth, and he omitted no opportunity of distinguishing the youth and lavishing upon him emoluments and honours. It was said that the King had been privately married to Mrs Barlow, and that Monmouth was his lawfully begotten son. Whether this was true or not I cannot say, but certainly there were many persons who believed it, and still more who professed and wished to believe it. There is at least one remarkable piece of evidence which is highly suggestive of a secret marriage. In 1655 Charles' sister Mary, Princess of Orange, writing to King Charles of Mrs Barlow says, "Your wife is resolving whether she will write or no. Therefore, I am to say nothing to you from her, but will keep open my letter as long as the post will permit to expect what good nature will work ; which, I find now, does not at all, for it is now eleven of the clock, and no letter comes." (See Mrs Green's "Life of the Princess of Orange.") The Princess must have been indeed complaisant to her brother's weaknesses if she wrote to him thus of a woman whom she believed to be merely his mistress ! Whatever may have been the true state of the case, however, it is certain that Charles was strongly urged in many quarters and on many occasions to acknowledge a private marriage with Barlow, to put aside the Queen, and to proclaim the Duke of Monmouth as his lawful heir ; and though, no doubt, such a course would have produced immediate difficulties from the partizans of the Duke of York

(which perhaps operated on Charles' mind), I think it very probable that if the King had insisted he would have carried his point. It is well known that after the accession of James II., Monmouth *did* rebel and proclaim himself lawful heir to the late King; and though the insurrection was suppressed, it was sufficiently formidable to make one think that if Monmouth had been acknowledged by his father he would have won the day.

Charles, however, though he appears at times to have dallied with the suggestion, when it came to the point would never consent to take any step either to invalidate his marriage with Queen Katharine or to prejudice his brother's rights; and, as a matter of fact, Monmouth was at the Hague in disgrace at the date of his father's death. It has been said that in this Charles was actuated by regard for the Queen, and it may be that he was influenced by some gentlemanlike feeling for the forlorn and neglected woman, whom he had acknowledged and accepted as his wife. His conduct to Katharine, however, was so consistently neglectful and unkind that I cannot believe that he would have been seriously influenced in his conduct by any regard for her; but the sincerity of his love for his brother is indisputable. As boys they had shared together the hardships of their father's camp, and as young men they had shared the perils and mortifications of their exile, and the affection which commenced in their early youth was maintained without a substantial break, until in their middle life James stood by the bedside of his dying brother, and at the risk of his Throne, and even of his life, brought to him the consolations of that religion in which they both believed, and which Charles so tardily professed.

To my mind this love was the redeeming point in the character of Charles II., and I think it brought with it its own reward.

Charles was born on the 29th of May 1630, and was twelve when the Civil War broke out. He was in his nineteenth year at the date of his father's death, and exactly thirty at the date of the Restoration; and he was in his fifty-fifth year when he

died on the 6th of February 1685. He is buried in Westminster Abbey ; but it may be noted that the custom of erecting monuments to the memory of the Royal dead seems to have gone out in England after the reign of James I. That King erected beautiful tombs over the bodies of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and of his grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Lennox, and a tomb, more quaint than beautiful, over the bodies of his infant daughters, who died in England ; but the resting places of James himself and his wife, and of his other descendants, remain to this day unmarked, save by the barest inscriptions on the flat stones which lie over them.

Charles II. was married on the 21st of May 1662 to Katharine, daughter of John IV., King of Portugal, by Luiza, daughter of Duke of Medina Sidonia. It will be remembered that in the fourteenth century John I. of Portugal married Philippa Plantagenet, daughter of John of Gaunt, and sister of Henry IV. of England. From this marriage all the Sovereigns of Portugal, including John IV., have, down to the present day, been descended. Between John I. and John IV. there were seven Kings of Portugal—Edward, Alphonzo V., John II., Emanuel, John III., Sebastian, and Henry. Henry was the uncle of Sebastian, and was a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, and he ascended the Throne on the death without issue of his nephew. In his reign Philip II. of Spain invaded and subdued Portugal, which, for a period of sixty years, was a Province of Spain ; but in 1638 the Portugese successfully cast off the yoke under the leadership of the Duke of Braganza, who became John IV., and was the father of Queen Katharine. This Duke was of ancient and Royal lineage on his father's side, and was a man of immense wealth ; and he claimed to be lawful heir to the Crown of Portugal through his father's mother, Katharine, who was a daughter of Prince Edward, one of the sons of King Emanuel. The reign of John IV. was a stormy one, and he died in 1646, leaving two sons who successively became Kings under the titles of Alphonzo VI. and Pedro II. Katharine was the sister of these Kings, but at the date of her marriage her mother, who was a woman of great energy, was Regent of

Portugal ; and was still carrying on the struggle with Spain, which had commenced with the accession of her husband, John IV.

To the Portuguese the English alliance was a matter of great importance, and to tempt Charles II. to marry their Princess a magnificent dowry was offered. She was to have a large fortune in money, and to the English was to be granted in perpetuity the possession of Tangiers, the right of free trade with Brazil, and the West Indies ; and, lastly, that which at the time was regarded as of the least importance, the possession of the East Indian Province of Bombay. With reference to this dowry it may be here said that, though the territorial advantages were duly granted, the Queen Regent was never able to pay more than half the money promised, and this failure on her part was deeply resented, both by King Charles and his subjects, and was the cause of much mortification to her unfortunate daughter. Nevertheless, the English did not make a bad bargain as the grant of Bombay, made on the occasion of Katharine's marriage, was the original foundation of their great Indian Empire.

Katharine landed in England on the 14th of May 1662, and five days later, on the 19th, she was privately married to the King at Portsmouth, according to the rites of the Church of Rome. She was never married to him according to the Anglican rites, and never crowned ; and afterwards those who urged the invalidity of her marriage, relied upon these circumstances.

Queen Katharine has usually been represented as a weak and silly woman, with little ability and no dignity of character ; and it has further been stated that she was unattractive in person. On the latter point, not only her portraits but the great weight of contemporary testimony, including that of that delightful Diarist, Samuel Pepys, prove conclusively that she was a very pretty woman, with much vivacity of manner. It is, however, probable that she was lacking in that stately, though somewhat voluptuous grace which distinguished several of her rivals. She was born on the 25th of November

1638, and, therefore, at the date of her marriage she was in her twenty-fourth year, and considerably older than the majority of Royal brides.

As to her character it is difficult to form a just estimate, but it must be remembered that most of those who wrote of her in her own time were, to say the least, strongly prejudiced against her, and there is at least this much to be said, that though she lived in a dissolute time, and in almost the most dissolute Court that has ever existed, no scandal against her good name has ever obtained the least credence from any one.

She had been brought up till an unusually advanced age in a Convent, and her knowledge of Court life, such as it was, was based on the precise and decorous Court of her mother. She came as a foreigner, ignorant of the language and customs of her adopted country, to a nation not at that time distinguished for its courtesy to strangers, and as a devout Catholic, to a country in which the very name of Papist was regarded as synonymous with miscreant. She had no friends and no advisers, and she was never allowed the smallest fair play in the attempt to win her husband's affections, for Charles was, at that time, completely under the domination of the notorious Lady Castlemaine, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland. With this woman he took supper on the evening before he went to meet his bride, and he had solemnly promised her a high office in the household of the new Queen.

Katharine has been greatly, and I think justly, blamed for her complaisance to the King's mistresses ; but it is certainly not the case that she succumbed to the difficulties of her position without a struggle. She had been warned against Lady Castlemaine, and when that woman's name was first presented to her by the King in the list of her ladies, she erased it with anger. Afterwards, when the King, taking advantage of her ignorance of the language, presented his mistress to her in the full Court, she received her graciously, not knowing who it was ; but when the name of the woman she had just received was whispered to her, her emotion was so great that she was taken with a violent bleeding at the nose,

and had to be carried from the room. After this there was a period of many weeks during which Charles and his wife lived on terms of complete estrangement, meeting only occasionally, and then with bitter reproaches; and it is possible that if Katharine had held to this position, she might have so gained on the King's natural sense of justice, and indolent temperament, as to have forced him to treat her with at least respect in public. She gave up the struggle too soon. Her friends in Portugal were powerless to help her, she had no disinterested adviser, she was taunted with her mother's failure to keep the marriage treaty; forced to part with almost all her Portuguese servants, and kept at first at any rate in continual and distressing want of money, for King Charles was not above claiming the income settled upon his wife by Parliament on her behalf, and then applying it to his own uses! Under these circumstances Katharine yielded in a manner equally sudden and unexpected, and thenceforth she seems to have received the King's mistresses with a fine impartiality, and with apparent indifference. Most errors bring their own punishment, and whereas it would seem that during the struggle their was growing up among the people, and the more decorous of the courtiers, a strong feeling of sympathy for the Queen, after she had once yielded the point, she was treated by everyone with neglect and contempt.

In political matters Queen Katharine seems to have been entirely passive, and in the practice of her religion she was a great contrast to her predecessor, for though she was as punctual and exact in the performance of all essential duties as any Catholic could desire, she was extremely careful to avoid giving offence or parading ceremonial that was unnecessary. Nevertheless, she was an object of the most intense hatred to the Anti-Catholic party. She herself, and nearly every Catholic in her household, was accused by Titus Oates of being concerned in the "plot," several of her servants were actually put to death on this charge, and it is admitted that the Queen was for a time in imminent peril. In this emergency, however, Katharine behaved with that calmness and dignity

which, to do them justice, have rarely been found wanting in members of the Royal caste in moments of personal danger.

Extremely straitened in means at the first, she is said to have been one of the most economical Princesses that ever sat on the English Throne; and lastly, she deserves the gratitude of the whole nation in that it was she who first introduced tea as a common beverage.

Strange as it may appear, there can be no doubt that Katharine entertained a strong personal affection for her husband. Though they had been completely estranged for five years before his death, and though she was herself ill at the time, she went to see him on his deathbed, and, falling on her knees, begged that he would "forgive her all her offences." Charles answered, as was indeed the case, "she had offended in nothing, but that *he* had been guilty of many offences against *her*;" and he asked *her* pardon, which was freely given. She was not able to be with him when he died, but at the very last again sent him a message asking forgiveness, and amongst his last words recorded is his answer "Alas! poor woman, *she* begs *my* pardon! I beg *hers* with all my heart. Take back to her that answer."

During the short reign of James II. Katharine lived partly at Somerset House and partly at Hammersmith, where, in the strictest privacy, she established a small community of religious women, the successors of whom, I believe, still flourish. She was treated with much consideration by the new King and Queen, and was one of the witnesses of the birth of the Prince of Wales; and her testimony as to that event, which has been preserved, was afterwards specially relied on by King James, against those who attempted to gain credence for the now admitted lie that no child was really born.

After the accession of William and Mary, the position of the Dowager Queen Katharine seems to have become extremely and increasingly uncomfortable, and she ultimately, after many delays, obtained leave to retire to Portugal, which she did in 1692. She was received in her native land with

much respect, and on two occasions, during illnesses of her brother, King Pedro II., she was called upon to assume the Regency of that country, and as Regent she is said to have acquitted herself very well. She died suddenly on the 31st of December 1705 (temp. Anne) in her sixty-eighth year, and she is buried in Portugal. (See "Katharine of Braganza," by L. Davidson.)

King Charles II. left no lawful issue, but it would be impossible to conclude any account of him without some reference to the women who, as his mistresses, played so large a part in the history of his life, and of his bastard children, from whom the ranks of the British Peerage was so largely recruited, and to provide for whom and whose descendants, many generations of Englishmen have been forced to contribute.

It has been said that a tolerably full and comprehensive history of France, between the accession of Francis I. and the death of Louis XV., would be found in the biographies, if they were written, of the various women who successively occupied the position of "*Maitresse en titre*" to the French Sovereigns; and, indeed, in reading French history of this period one is inclined to think that the French Kings and their courtiers had altogether ceased to regard the law of monogamy as binding on the Sovereigns.

It had, however, been different in England. It is no doubt true, that the six kings who reigned in the twelfth century, or to be more accurate, from 1087 till 1216, had been men who lived openly immoral lives, and that we frequently hear of their bastard children as holding high rank, both in the Church and in the State; but from the accession of Henry III. in the beginning of the thirteenth until the accession of Charles II. at the end of the seventeenth century, some show of decency and morality was always attempted, and the reality of those virtues was not infrequently obtained in the Courts of the English Sovereigns. In the later days of Edward III., Alice Perrers, and in the reign of Edward IV., Jane Shore, attained to some degree of notoriety, but both these women

were the objects of popular execration, the power of both was extremely short-lived, and both ended their lives in obloquy and shame. In the reign of Henry VIII. that Monarch succeeded in keeping up appearances and, at the same time, gratifying his love of change by the simple expedient of either divorcing or beheading his wives as he grew tired of them, and substituting as his nominal wife the object for the time being of his passing fancy. In the reign of Richard II. that King sent an evil precedent by allowing his Parliament to declare legitimate the bastard children of his uncle, John of Gaunt, and by conferring on those children high rank; and again Henry VIII. raised his acknowledged illegitimate son to the rank of Duke of Richmond. With these exceptions, however, it is not too much to say that from the end of the twelfth century until the date of the Restoration no woman is heard of in English history as having been the mistress of an English King, and no bastard child of any King or son of a King was ever acknowledged or admitted to the smallest degree of rank or influence; while, on the other hand, it may be truly said that many of the Kings—Henry III., Edward I. Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Henry VII., and Charles I.,—whatever may have been their public crimes, were, as far as appears, free from blame as to their private morals.

Under these circumstances the glaring indecencies of the reign of Charles II. come upon us with something of a shock and it is not to be wondered at that they have been commented on with severity, if in some cases with a considerable amount of gusto, by the writers of his own and succeeding times.

I have already spoken of Charles' son James, Duke of Monmouth, whose mother was Mrs Lucy Barlow, formerly Walters. Monmouth was born in 1649, and was educated in Paris as a Catholic by the Oratorian Fathers. At the Restoration he was brought to Court, and though he was at first styled "Mr Crofts," he was speedily recognized by the King as his son. He was raised to the Peerage as Duke of Monmouth in February 1663, and in April of the same year

—being then a boy of about fifteen—he was married with extraordinary pomp to the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Buccleugh, and he then assumed his wife's family name of Scott. It may be here mentioned that Monmouth afterwards grossly neglected and illtreated his wife, notwithstanding that she was a woman of distinguished family and connections, and brought him a large fortune. As I have already said, it was believed by many that the King had been married to Monmouth's mother, and that Monmouth was his legitimate son ; and Monmouth himself very probably entertained this belief. At all events the Duke was encouraged from his earliest youth, both by the extravagant demonstrations of affection in which the King indulged, and by the flatteries of the opponents of the Duke of York, to aspire to the Throne. King Charles however, though he sometimes seemed to waver, never could be got to countenance these aspirations in any overt manner, and at the last, indignant at the presumption and arrogance of Monmouth's behaviour and manners, he compelled him to leave the Kingdom. Monmouth took refuge at the Court of the Prince and Princess of Orange, by whom he was treated almost as if he had been, in fact, heir-apparent to the English Throne. On the death of King Charles he with, it cannot be doubted, the secret countenance of the Prince and Princess, left Holland with the avowed intention of seizing the English Crown. He landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire on the 11th of June 1685, and at once proclaimed himself King, and offered a price on the head of "James, Duke of York." Though he was not countenanced by the nobility or gentry, great crowds of the common people flocked to his standard ; and for a few days the rebellion seems to have assumed formidable dimensions, but Monmouth was completely defeated by Lord Feversham at Sedgmoor and taken prisoner, and he was afterwards executed on the 15th of July 1685. All writers agree as to the personal beauty and the agreeable manners of the Duke of Monmouth, but he proved to be a man of little capacity and of more than doubtful personal courage. His behaviour, prior to the Battle of Sedgmoor, was extremely

pusillanimous; from the battle itself he was the first to run away, and at his subsequent interview with King James, his entreaties for a pardon were abject in the extreme.

King James II. has been greatly blamed for sending his nephew to the block, and it is certainly to be wished that he could have seen his way to pardon so wretched a creature. It must, however, be remembered that James had been for years subjected to the greatest insolence on the part of Monmouth—that Monmouth had been backed by the enemies, James had most cause to fear, William and Mary of Orange, and that Monmouth was taken prisoner (I cannot say in arms, for he was found lying in a ditch), but in open rebellion against the King's authority. Moreover, it has been said that though many believed that Monmouth was the son lawfully begotten of King Charles, many others, including James II. himself, doubted whether he was the son of Charles *at all*; for Mrs. Barlow, like many of her successors in that King's favour, was notoriously unfaithful to her Royal paramour. Monmouth was in his thirty-sixth year when he was executed, and he had not therefore the excuse of youth, which is very often urged, on his behalf. He left two sons and a daughter. From his elder son the present Duke of Buccleuch is descended.

Charles II. had another acknowledged natural child, born before the Restoration. This was Charlotte, afterwards wife of William Paston, Earl of Yarmouth. Her mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Killigrew and wife of the Honourable Francis Boyle, who was a son of the Earl of Cork, and who was, for services in Ireland, created Viscount Shannon at the date of the Restoration. The Countess of Yarmouth had two sons, both of whom died unmarried.

Shortly after the Restoration Charles fell wholly under the influence of the woman who afterwards became Duchess of Cleveland, and who may be said for a time to have ruled him with a rod of iron. Her maiden name was Barbara Villiers, and she was a great-niece of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, the well-known favourite of James I.

and Charles I. She had married Mr. Roger Palmer, who appears to have been a gentleman of integrity and some distinction, and who was by no means a consenting party to his wife's relations with the King. In 1661 King Charles, in order to give Mrs. Palmer some position at Court, created her husband without his previous knowledge or consent, Earl of Castlemaine in Ireland; but in 1679 the ambitious favourite, no longer satisfied with the rank of Countess, was created Duchess of Cleveland in her own right, with special remainder to Charles Fitzroy, the eldest of her sons by the King. The Duchess' influence greatly waned after this event, and before the King's death she had fallen into comparative obscurity, but she survived until 1703 (temp. Anne). She had five children by the King—Charles, Henry, George, Charlotte, and Anne, though in fact the parentage of these children, and especially of Anne, was a little doubtful, inasmuch as the Duchess had as many lovers as the King had mistresses. The eldest of her sons, Charles Fitzroy, was created Duke of Southampton in his mother's lifetime, and on her death he became also Duke of Cleveland. He died in 1730 and was succeeded by his son, on whose death without issue in 1774 the Duchies of Cleveland and Southampton became extinct. In 1833, however, William Henry Vane, third Earl of Darlington, who was descended from Grace Fitzroy, a daughter of King Charles' natural son, Charles Fitzroy, before mentioned, was created Duke of Cleveland, and from him was descended the late Duke of Cleveland, who changed his name to Powlett, and upon whose death the Dukedom again became extinct.

Henry Fitzroy, the second son of Charles II., and the Duchess of Cleveland, was created Duke of Grafton, and from him the present Duke of Grafton is directly descended in the male line.

George, the third son, was in 1674 created Duke of Northumberland, but he died in 1716 without issue. He was interpolated in the title of Northumberland between the original Percys and their descendant, Sir Hugh Smithson,

who afterwards assumed the name of Percy, and from whom the present Duke derives.

Charlotte, the daughter of the Duchess of Cleveland by Charles, married Sir Edward Lee, who in 1674, on the occasion of the marriage was created Earl of Lichfield, but her descendants in the male line became extinct in 1776.

Anne, the other daughter, whose parentage was much disputed, married Thomas Lennard, fifteenth Baron Dacre, who was created Earl of Sussex in 1674. This lady had no sons, and on the death of her husband the Earldom became extinct and the Barony of Dacre passed to collateral heirs.

The influence of the Duchess of Cleveland was to a great extent extinguished by Louise de Querouaille, who came to England in the train of Charles' sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, in 1670, and on that occasion made so much impression on the King that she was invited to return. In 1673 she was created Duchess of Portsmouth, and she maintained her influence till the King's death. She afterwards returned to France, and died there in 1734 at a very advanced age.

By the Duchess of Portsmouth Charles had a son Charles, who assumed the name of Lennox, and in 1675 was created Duke of Richmond, and is the direct ancestor of the present Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

In addition to the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth, various other ladies obtained more or less influence over Charles' affections. One was the Duchess of Mazarin, a niece of the well-known Cardinal Mazarin, who is said to have been sent over by Louis XIV. with a view to counterbalancing the influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth. Another was the celebrated actress, Nell Gwynne, the "poor Nelly" for whom Charles on his deathbed asked "that she should not be left to starve," and whose immorality posterity has agreed to condone in consideration of her great beauty and good nature. Another was a certain Moll Davis, who, though she is by courtesy styled an actress, seems to have in fact belonged to a lower status in society.

The Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth were ladies

by birth, but Nell Gwynne and Moll Davis most certainly were not. Nevertheless, they went to Court freely, and mingled with the Court ladies with unblushing effrontery.

By Nell Gwynne the King had an acknowledged son, Charles, who assumed the surname of Beauclerk, and who in 1684 was created Duke of St. Albans, and from him the present Duke of St. Albans is descended in the direct male line; and by Moll Davis he had an acknowledged daughter, Mary, who called herself Mary Tudor, and married Francis, second Earl of Derwentwater, and whose son, the last Earl, was beheaded as one of the leaders in the Stuart Insurrection in 1715. It will be observed that King Charles II. provided with a liberal hand for his numerous bastard children, and certainly if succeeding Kings had been as prolific as King Charles, and as prodigal in conferring Dukedoms on their sons, the ducal Bench in the House of Lords would have had to have been considerably enlarged.

I ought perhaps before closing this chapter to refer to the celebrated Frances Stuart, known as "La Belle Stuart," for whom Charles appears to have entertained the strongest passion of his life. It is a disputed point whether she ever became in fact his mistress, but from the probabilities of the case I think that she did not, though she undoubtedly "carried on" in a manner that was, to say the least, indecorous. It is well known that one of the inducements offered to the King to divorce the Queen was that he would then be free to marry Frances Stuart, and this inducement is said to have carried more weight with the King than any other. It is also certain that one of the causes which led to the disgrace of Charles' most respectable Minister, the Earl of Clarendon, was that Clarendon was supposed to have brought about the marriage of this lady with the last of the Stuart Dukes of Richmond and Lennox. I do not think it would have been suggested to the King or that he would have desired to marry a woman who had already become his mistress, and I do not think the Duke of Richmond would have consented to marry a woman who was known to have filled that position.

Frances Stuart was descended from a junior branch of the great Stuart family, and her husband, Charles Stuart, was the last of the line of Stuarts, Dukes of Lennox and Richmond, of whom some account has been given already. They were descended from a collateral branch of the family of Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, the father of Lord Darnley, and the grandfather of James I., and though not of the blood-royal of England or of Scotland were connected in blood with James I., Charles I., and Charles II., by all of whom they were treated with great distinction.

The last Duke of this family died in 1672 without issue, when his honours became extinct, but his widow "La Belle Stuart" survived until 1702.

CHAPTER XXXII.

JAMES II.—EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.—ANNE
HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK.

IN every story there must be a villain, and in every period of history there is usually some person whom all writers agree to offer up to general execration, and upon whose shoulders all unclaimed disasters may safely be placed. For the end of the seventeenth century King James II. has been universally accepted as a person of this kind, and since the publication of the late Lord Macaulay's History of England it has hardly been safe to say a word in James' favour. Historians and novelists, critics and newspaper writers, have vied with one another in holding him up as an object of ridicule and scorn. Catholic writers are afraid to defend him for fear they should be accused of bigotry and narrow-mindedness, and Protestant writers delight in treating him as an admittedly good subject for vituperative eloquence and wit. For myself, however, I venture to say that I think that, both as a man and a King, James compares not unfavourably with his father, Charles I.; and that both as a man and a King he was the superior both of his grandfather, James I., and of his brother, Charles II. I freely admit that his abilities were narrow and limited, and that he had many faults and committed many and grievous errors. He probably never understood, and, if he did theoretically understand, he certainly never realized, the duties of a constitutional Monarch; and if he had had his way it is probable, nay, I think certain, that the liberties and happiness of his subjects would in the long run have suffered greatly. Therefore, though frankly speaking I detest the authors of the Revolution of 1688, I

think that Revolution was an event upon which the English people have, on the whole, good reason to congratulate themselves; but at the same time I believe that James for the most part acted honestly, and with a sincere belief that what he did would be for the benefit of his people.

He was a man painfully obstinate and determined to have his own way, and with little regard for the legitimate wishes and opinions of his fellow men; but it may be doubted whether his excessive obstinacy was not, however disastrous in the long run, a better fault than the excessive pliability of his immediate predecessors.

If it was difficult to induce Charles II. to take anything seriously, his brother took all things too seriously, and was as earnest and intent on carrying out his ideas as to some matter of petty ceremonial as for instance the ceremonial with which he was to be conducted to Church, as with regard to questions vitally affecting himself and the nation. James was, I think it is admitted, very industrious and painstaking and extremely economical in his private expenditure; and if he had not the superficial good nature of his brother, he was in all essential matters, or, at all events intended to be, a far kinder man. He has been accused of being cruel and vindictive, but I think it would be more fair to say that he was unrelenting. No doubt the cruelties perpetrated after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion were horrible, but it was a cruel age, and very few men in power at that time can be acquitted of cruelty; and even assuming that James fully realized the enormities committed in his name, which has been denied, it must be remembered that he believed his life and Crown to be in danger, and that the persons executed were open rebels, who by law had incurred the penalty of death. Of all men James, whose co-religionists had suffered death in hundreds and imprisonment in thousands, and who had himself suffered so much, both personally and through his friends, at the hands of his political opponents, was as it seems to me, almost the last who could fairly be expected to set an example of clemency.

The reasons for his unpopularity are not far to seek. Like Charles II. he was an ugly man, but unlike Charles his manners were hard and ungracious, and he was absolutely devoid of tact. He seems, if I may say so, to have gone about through life treading on people's toes, offending their prejudices and affronting their sensibilities. Moreover, he was in the very front of the Catholic party, and it was a period in which religious animosities had reached a point hardly equalled even at the time of the Reformation. Thus he made and had many enemies among the writers of his time, some of whom have relieved their feelings by covering him with ridicule, and representing him as a cross between a cruel fanatic and a pompous fool: but the writing of personal enemies and religious opponents should, I think, be largely discounted. It should also be remembered that for at least a century after his death to praise James II. was, by implication, to blame the reigning Sovereigns. That James was by conviction sincere in his religious belief no one has I think doubted, notwithstanding that he acted not infrequently in direct violation of the moral precepts of his Church, but that he acted wisely in the measures which he took on behalf of his religion, I think very few Catholics would be prepared to say. If he had contented himself with trying to get liberty of conscience and political equality for Catholics, no one at the present day could have blamed him; but though this was all he professed to desire I think it can hardly be doubted that he did, or at all events wished to do more, and that if he could he would have forcibly abolished the religion which had become the established religion of the country, and which at that time certainly the great bulk of his people wished to maintain. Moreover, he who had suffered so much religious persecution on his own account was but too well inclined to persecute his religious opponents as and when he got the chance, and in his zeal to obtain converts to his own religion, he sometimes used more than the influence of fair argument, and took undue advantage of his position as a King. In saying this, however, I must again remind my readers that if

that was an age of cruelty, it was pre-eminently an age of intolerance, and that James cannot fairly be blamed for acting in accordance with, and not in advance of, the principles and practice almost universally adopted in the time in which he lived.

It has been said by some persons that James was personally a coward, but no charge can to my mind be more unjust. There is abundant proof that as a young lad and during the period of Civil War he had shown great spirit and pluck. Before he had attained his twenty-second year in 1655, he had served in four campaigns with the French army under Marshal Turenne, and in these campaigns he had gained great personal distinction and the high commendations of his great leader himself, who is reported to have said of him that "if any man in the world was born without fear it was the Duke of York." In 1655 James, then twenty-two, was offered the post of Captain-General of the army in Piedmont; and though in obedience to his brother, King Charles, he declined this post, it is hardly to be supposed it would have been offered to so young a man if he had not already distinguished himself both in military capacity and personal courage. After the Restoration he was the English Commander in two great battles with the Dutch, in both of which he was thought by his contemporaries to have distinguished himself greatly. On his return from the Dutch campaign he received the thanks of Parliament and a large grant of money, and he was welcomed by the nation at large with a burst of almost universal enthusiasm, and I think that in his own day, at all events before the Revolution, even the writers who were most opposed to him politically admitted his military capacity and personal bravery. These incidents, however, are overlooked by Lord Macaulay and other modern writers, because James abdicated his Kingdom without a blow, and because afterwards in 1690, at the Battle of the Boyne, he behaved with what they consider pusillanimity.

I cannot deny that he did show weakness and indecision on these occasions, but by that time he had become virtually

an old man. His health had already given signs of breaking down, and he was suffering under such intense mental affliction that many of those about him believed that his mind also had given or was giving way. The leader he was fighting against was the son of his sister whom he had greatly loved, and the husband of his own daughter Mary, and it is well known that the conduct of his daughters, and in particular of his daughter Anne, had come upon him as an almost fatal shock. Whatever qualities James had or had not, no one has ever doubted his love for his children or the intense grief occasioned to him by the behaviour of his daughters. Under these circumstances it seems to me ungenerous to dwell on the vacillations and weakness of an old and failing man, at a time of great sorrow, without at least dwelling equally on the strength and firmness displayed by the same man in his early life.

In justification of the above remarks I may perhaps be allowed to quote from a very recent work, "*The story of the Household Cavalry*," by Sir George Arthur. The writer, after relating the great part taken by James II. in establishing the Royal Body Guard, and referring to his naval exploits says, "As a seaman his claims to distinction in the annals of the British Navy are undeniable. In our own day the important services rendered by him to the Fleet have received to-day official recognition by the re-erection of Grinling Gibbons' fine statue of him in front of the Admiralty. It is impossible to study the earlier part of his career without being struck by the force of character which at that period belonged to him. This is pre-eminently true in the military sphere. The great Duke of Wellington declared that certain regulations with respect to Ordnance which James originated had never been improved upon since, and they were still in force a century and a half later. The same unsurpassed authority told Sir Walter Scott that the most distinct writer on military affairs he had ever read was James II. (See Sir Walter Scott's *Letters*, vol. II., p. 77.) At a time when less sagacious counsellors of the Crown had left it all but denuded of

military protection, James' foresight and promptitude saved both the King and the Kingdom from a threatened catastrophe by insisting on the maintenance of the Life Guards as an effective permanent force."

James II. was born on the 12th of October 1633, and was not ten years old when he was present with his father at the Battle of Edge Hill. He was not yet sixteen at the date of his father's execution, and he was in his twenty-seventh year at the date of the Restoration in 1660. He was in his fifty-third year when he became King in 1685, in his fifty-seventh year when he was driven into exile in 1688, and he had nearly completed his sixty-eighth year when he died in September 1701.

James was created Duke of York and Albany almost at his birth. He shared his brother's exile, and returned with him at the Restoration when he had his full share in the popularity which all the Royal family for a short time enjoyed. Indeed he seems to have retained the favour of the nation until it began to be generally suspected that he had become a Catholic. When he did this is not precisely known, but as early as 1668 he had declared privately to the King that he was by conviction a Catholic, and that he either had become or intended to become a member of the Catholic Church. Thenceforth, though he did not in Charles' life expressly declare that he was a Catholic, and the fact was chiefly evidenced by his abstention from the services of the Established Church, and his refusal to take oaths contrary to the Catholic religion, it was in fact universally known and accepted by everyone that he *was* a Catholic, and he in consequence became the subject of the most intense and bitter religious animadversion. After his accession he announced the fact that he was a Catholic by going publicly to Mass with the Queen, and thenceforth no attempt at secrecy was made.

The attempts made to exclude James from the Throne during Charles' life, and the general events of his short reign, are matters of general history. Though after he became King his unpopularity still increased, it is not impossible that he

might have been allowed to finish his life upon the Throne if, on the 10th of June 1688 Queen Mary, James' second wife, had not given birth to a son who was likely to live. Up to that time his eldest daughter Mary, Princess of Orange, had been recognised as heiress presumptive to the Throne, but the birth of the Prince of Wales, which promised to continue the succession in the King's male line, at once threatened the ambitious projects of the Prince and Princess of Orange, and exasperated the Protestant, which was also the constitutional party, in a high degree.

A story was got up that the child was supposititious, and had been introduced into the Queen's room in a warming pan ; and though it is now admitted by writers of every denomination that this story was a simple lie without even a shadow of justification ; and though it is difficult to suppose that even at the time any person of intelligence was deceived by it, no doubt the story had for a time its effect on ignorant people. William of Orange shortly afterwards published a Declaration setting forth the grievances of the people, some of which at any rate were genuine enough, and made preparations for a military expedition to England, which he justified on the grounds that it was necessary to enquire into the circumstances of the "nominal" Prince of Wales, and to procure the calling of a free Parliament, so that an end might be put to the dissensions between the King and people.

William landed in England at Torbay on the 5th of November 1688, and commenced his march to the Capital. The King, whose mind appears for the time to have been unhinged, acted with extraordinary irresolution and weakness. He had been extremely distressed by the scandalous stories told about the birth of his son, stories which he knew to have been at least countenanced by his eldest daughter and her husband ; and he was probably aware that, as events proved to be the case, there was hardly a man amongst his Ministers or soldiers upon whose fidelity he could rely. Practically he did nothing to impede William's progress, and the result of his discouragement was a kind of exodus from the Court to

William's standard. The first to desert was Lord Cornbury, an officer in the army, whose father, the Earl of Clarendon, was the brother of James' first wife, Anne Hyde, and Cornbury was speedily followed by the Princess Anne and her husband, and by many others; and last but not least by Lord Churchill, afterwards first Duke of Marlborough, to whom James had committed the command of such forces as he still retained. This eminent person, whose military genius was only equalled by his utter want of principle and good faith, had owed his original start in life and earlier promotion entirely to the patronage of the King, mainly granted because Churchill's sister, Arabella, had been for a time James' mistress. Churchill had advised an advance against William, which James refused to sanction, and for which refusal he has been greatly blamed. Mr Traill in his life of William III. says, "it is uncertain whether if Churchill's counsels had prevailed he would have taken over the troops under his command to William, or whether he would have awaited the issue of battle in order to obtain still clearer light on the only question which interested him, namely, his personal interests." It is probable that James guessed this, and had better reasons for his hesitation than are generally allowed.

The defection of Churchill was the death blow to the King's hopes. On the 2nd of December 1688 James secretly sent the Queen and the young Prince of Wales to France, where, after a perilous journey they arrived on the 11th of December, and on the day of their arrival James himself attempted to follow them. He was recognised at Sheerness, and stopped by a mob who hoped to curry favour with William by delivering the King into his hands. It was, however, no part of William's policy to detain his father-in-law, whose presence in England, either as a captive or at large, would have been equally inconvenient, and James was allowed to escape a second time, and landed safely in France on the 25th December 1688. On the 12th of February 1689 William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England, and thus was peacefully accomplished the great Revolution of 1688

which, whatever may be thought of the conduct of individuals, was certainly one of the most important and, on the whole, beneficial events in English History.

King James and his wife were received by Louis XIV. with genuine kindness and sympathy, and profuse hospitality. One is glad to remember that this kindness and hospitality were afterwards repaid by the English nation at the time of the French Revolution to King Louis' own descendants. Louis and James were first cousins, Louis' father, Louis XIII., and James' mother, Queen Henrietta, having been brother and sister; and as young men (James was five years the senior) they had during the residence of Henrietta in Paris seen much of one another; and apart from political considerations it is clear that Louis entertained a strong personal regard for his unfortunate cousin. At all events he omitted no opportunity of showing and even parading his respect for his illustrious guests, who were installed in the Chateau of St Germain with a large income, and treated with all the deference and ceremony due to the King and Queen of England.

This, however, involved them, in the midst of their greater difficulties, in a number of smaller ones, which must have been sufficiently annoying. Probably since the time of the Roman Empire no Sovereign in Europe had ruled with a more absolute authority over a larger number of subjects than Louis XIV.; and the ceremonial observed in his Court makes one think that the object which the King wished to obtain was to make his family and countries forget that he was a man mortal and fallible like themselves. There is, however, only one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and the result actually attained struck the more acute observers in his own time, and has struck all succeeding generations as on the whole more absurd than impressive. Indeed I can conceive nothing more ludicrous than the mania for etiquette which, under Louis XIV., possessed the whole French Court. Louis' wife, Maria Teresa of Spain, had died in 1683, and the etiquette to be observed in regard to a Queen, and more particularly to a foreign Queen, was a little forgotten.



Accordingly the Dauphiness, the wife of the King's only son, took to her bed and shammed sickness for fear that on the occasion of her first visit to the Queen of England she should not be allowed the full privileges which she considered due to her as the first lady in France; and "Monsieur," the King's brother, would not go to St Germain's till it had been solemnly guaranteed to him that the Queen of England would kiss him. This sounds a little alarming, but "Monsieur's" intentions were strictly proper. He did not desire an embrace from one of the most beautiful women in Europe, but a privilege which was to be conceded to him and not to Princes of inferior rank. Lastly, the French Princesses and Duchesses wrangled with an acrimony and, low be it spoken, a vulgarity appropriate rather to a kitchen dispute than to a difference between Court ladies, as to which should sit and which should stand, and which should sit upon "fauteuils" and which upon "tabourets" in the Queen's presence. Mary of Modena on this as on every other occasion behaved with infinite tact. She consulted the French King on the grave questions at issue—cut short the difficulties of the Dauphiness by herself paying the first visit, agreed to kiss Monsieur, distributed her fauteuils and tabourets with a liberal and discreet hand, and generally won the admiration of everyone. So much was this the case that King Louis, who was no bad judge in such matters, in speaking of her to his daughter-in-law, the Dauphiness, said "See what a Queen ought to be!" It was, however, necessary, before the various questions of precedence could be settled satisfactorily, for James to grant sundry, and as it proved, ephemeral and inconvenient titles of honour to his followers, in order that their wives might be able to sit down during the long Court ceremonies.

On the 7th of March 1689, James, aided by Louis, set out on his ill-fated expedition to Ireland, which ended in his complete defeat at the Battle of the Boyne, and he returned to France in July 1690 after an absence of fifteen months.

Thenceforth, during the remaining years of his life, James and his Queen lived a life of much retirement, which was

chiefly employed in the exercises of religion. James was a constant visitor at the Monastery of La Trappe and Mary at the Convent of Chaillot founded by Queen Henrietta; and though, of course, the austerity of the King's later years has been a fruitful subject of ridicule, I do not see how anyone, reading the accounts of his life in France, can doubt that whatever may have been the sins and failings of James' youth and manhood, he, in his old age, repented them sincerely and earnestly. The narrative of his death, as given by Miss Strickland, reads like the death of a Saint; and I can well understand the feeling of veneration for his memory which is still entertained by French Catholics.

King James died at St. Germain's on the 16th of September 1701, and he was buried in the Church of the English Benedictines in Paris. He survived his daughter Mary, and he was followed to the grave within six months by his son-in-law, William III.

James II. was twice married, first to Anne Hyde and then to Mary of Modena. He himself, in certain memoirs of his life which he dictated and which still exist, fixes the date of his secret marriage with Anne Hyde as the winter prior to the Restoration in May 1660. This lady was the daughter of Sir Edward Hyde, one of the most distinguished and respectable men of his time, and who as an Englishman and the grandfather of two Queens of England, deserves some mention in any history of the English Royal Family. Edward Hyde was born in 1609 of a good county family, several members of which had been distinguished lawyers, and he was himself called to the Bar, but speedily abandoned the legal profession for politics. As a member of Parliament he attracted the attention of King Charles I., and enjoyed a large measure of that King's confidence, so that in 1643 he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer and received the honour of knighthood. In 1644 the condition of the King's affairs made it expedient that he should part with his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, and Hyde, having been appointed one of the Prince's councillors, accompanied him first to

Bristol, thence into Cornwall, and ultimately to the Island of Jersey. From Jersey the young Charles was ordered to go to Paris and join his mother, but Hyde disapproving of that step declined to accompany him, and remained for some years in Jersey, where he commenced his "History of the Great Rebellion," which, though differently estimated by different writers, is admitted by everyone to be one of the most valuable and remarkable historical records that we have. In 1648 Hyde was summoned to join the Prince of Wales, who was then at the Hague, and from that time till the Restoration he was one of the most trusted of Charles II.'s councillors, having been appointed Lord Chancellor in 1657. It is, however, the misfortune of exiled Princes that though prudence and common sense imperatively demand some degree of unanimity amongst their followers, their councils have invariably been disturbed by a series of petty bickerings and jealousies to an extent scarcely paralleled in the most divided councils of Monarchs actually reigning. Thus Hyde appears to have become the object of a peculiarly bitter animosity on the part of his fellow exiles, and this after the Restoration was increased by his daughter's marriage to the Duke of York, and by the fact that Charles II. left with Hyde a large share in the distribution of the rewards and honours which followed the Restoration. Hyde himself was created Earl of Clarendon, and with some faults seems on the whole to have behaved as an upright and honest man, and he held his ground for about seven years. In 1667, however, Charles, worn out by the continual urgings of the Earl's enemies, at the head of whom was the Duchess of Cleveland, deprived him of his offices and ordered him to leave the Kingdom. This he did, and he spent the remainder of his life, till he died in 1674, living in profound retirement in France, and completing his history.

Lord Clarendon had two sons, Henry, who succeeded him as second Earl of Clarendon, and Laurence, who in 1681 was created Earl of Rochester. Both brothers, after the retirement of their father, were restored to King Charles' favour, both enjoyed in a marked degree the favour of his successor,

James II., and the elder at any rate seems always to have remained faithful to the cause of King James, though as the uncle of the reigning Queen Mary II. he was allowed to remain peacefully in England. Rochester's conduct is more doubtful, and he certainly became, after the accession of William and Mary, one of their ministers, and one of the most prominent Statesmen of their reign.

The male issue of the elder brother became extinct in 1728, when the title of Clarendon passed to Henry Hyde, son of Laurence, second Earl of Rochester, whose male issue also became extinct in 1753.

Anne Hyde appears to have been born in 1637, and she was therefore about twenty-three when she married the Duke of York; and, as I have already said, she had held an appointment as Maid of Honour to James' sister, the Princess of Orange, in which capacity she first attracted the Duke's attention. Immediately after the Restoration, Anne having become pregnant, James announced the marriage. King Charles received the announcement with his accustomed good humour, but the marriage was not popular in the country, and raised a storm of opposition on the part of the Royal family and connection, and in the Court generally. Strange to say the lady's father was, or professed to be, extremely angry at her presumption in having married the heir presumptive to the Crown, but as Dr Lingard points out, Clarendon's protestations were too vehement to be natural, and they were probably not quite sincere.

Strenuous efforts were made to try and induce James to repudiate the marriage, in which there were said to be certain legal defects, and as he did not appear inclined to adopt this course he was told that Anne had led a very loose life, both before and after marriage, and that he himself was not the father of the child to which she was about to give birth. In support of this assertion, two, or I think three men of somewhat inferior position came forward and asserted with much detail that they had been Anne's lovers. James was greatly distressed and for some weeks refused to see his wife, and it

was at this juncture that Anne was delivered of her first child. She was desperately ill and believed to be dying, and in her emergency she sent for the Duke and made such earnest protestations of her innocence that he was deeply impressed. He proceeded to make further enquiries into the charges against the Duchess with the result that he seems to have satisfied himself that the whole thing was a somewhat clumsy conspiracy on the part of Lord Clarendon's enemies. At all events he refused to allow the matter to be gone into further, and insisted that Anne's position as his Duchess should be forthwith acknowledged.

As far as one can judge from the scanty materials afforded his judgment was correct, and it was certainly very generally endorsed at the time. King Charles always treated his sister-in-law with kindness and consideration, and Queen Henrietta was ultimately, though with difficulty, induced to receive her and though the writers of the time tell the stories against Anne with gusto, it is pretty apparent that they do not themselves believe them. Moreover, the Duchess' subsequent conduct was so entirely free from scandal or reproach that it is difficult to believe that in her youth she had been not only so abandoned but so very indiscreet a person, as she must have been, if the stories told against her are to be credited.

It has been said that though the charges against Anne Hyde were known to be untrue, the Queen mother and the Princess of Orange were parties to them, or in other words that they suborned false evidence against the Duchess. For this very odious suggestion there appears to me to be no reliable evidence, and the known conduct of Queen Henrietta in the matter, though perhaps not very amiable, appears to me to have been so straightforward and above-board as to negative the suggestion of her having lent herself to a criminal conspiracy. Mrs. Everett Green in her life of the Princess of Orange seems inclined to take a less favourable view of the Princess' behaviour.

Anne Hyde was a handsome, good-humoured, and sensible woman, without much dignity of manner or refinement either

in appearance or character, but she played her part well in a difficult position, for, as I have said, after her marriage she escaped without any scandal, and made few if any enemies. Shortly before her death she became a Catholic, and has left a document giving her reasons for this step. It has been asserted that she did this under undue pressure from her husband, but for this statement there is not a tittle of evidence, and, on the contrary, I should think it probable that it was she who originally suggested to James his own change of religion. Anne died in 1671, aged thirty-seven, and she is buried in Westminster Abbey. (See Lodge's "Portraits Life of Anne Hyde, Duchess of York".)

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MARY OF MODENA. — JAMES FITZ - JAMES, DUKE OF
BERWICK.—WILLIAM III.—MARY II.

AFTER the death of his first Duchess various intrigues commenced, some to promote, and some to prevent the Duke of York's second marriage; and I cannot help thinking it would have been a good thing if he could have seen his way to accept the situation and remain a widower. He himself objected to marry a Protestant, and it must have been obvious that the introduction into England at that time of another Catholic Princess would be attended with great danger to the whole Catholic community. James, however, was bent on marrying, and on the 16th of September 1673 he was married by proxy to the Princess Mary Beatrice d'Estê, sister of the then reigning Duke of Modena. The negotiations for this marriage were conducted with so much secrecy that it had actually taken place by proxy, and the Duchess was on her way to England, before the English public got wit of the affair. The House of Commons immediately presented a petition to the King praying him "To send and stop the Princess at Paris in order to prevent the consummation of her marriage with the Duke of York." Charles refused, on the ground "that he could not in honour dissolve a marriage that had been solemnly executed"; whereupon the angry Commons prayed that he would "appoint a day of general fasting that God might avert the dangers with which the nation was threatened": in answer to which prayer, Charles graciously conceded permission to them to fast if they pleased. Under these inauspicious circumstances the new Duchess landed in England on the

21st of November 1673, and James, mindful of the questions which had been raised as to the King's own marriage with Katharine of Portugal, insisted on being personally married to his new wife according to the rites of the Church of England. It may here be said that Mary was afterwards associated with King James in his Coronation; the Communion Service being omitted, and some other parts of the ritual being changed to suit the consciences of the new Sovereigns.

Mary of Modena came of one of the most ancient and illustrious houses in the world, the origin of the line of d'Estê being lost in antiquity; but her mother, whose name was Martinozzi, was a lady of no particular rank or family, having owed her marriage with the Duke of Modena to the fact that her mother was the sister of the famous and all powerful Cardinal Mazarin, for many years Prime Minister of France.

Mary was born on the 5th of October 1658, and at the date of her marriage with James, he was in his forty-first and she in her sixteenth year.

There is, I think, in English History to be found no Queen of more amiable character, or more absolutely blameless life than Mary of Modena, and indeed, though as the devoted wife of the detested King James no opportunity has been missed for censure, and she has been the subject of any number of sneers and jeers, apart from the absurd and exploded fiction of the warming pan, no more definite charge can be brought against her than that she was at once a Catholic and an Italian. This, however, was a combination which in the seventeenth and eighteenth century struck terror into many a stalwart English breast.

It is admitted by all writers that Mary was a remarkably beautiful woman, with exceedingly pleasing and gracious manners. Taken straight from a convent, and married to a man whom she had never seen, who was twenty-five years her senior, and who proved for some years at any rate a notoriously unfaithful husband, she was called upon, when little more than a child, to fill the position of second lady in

a Court of which the presiding Queen was practically a nonentity, and which had already obtained the most evil notoriety for indecency and indecorum. She was surrounded by women whom the King and courtiers delighted to honour, hardly one of whom was of decent character, and many of whom were known to be little better than common prostitutes; and by men to whom the seduction of women had become a science, and to whom the character of every woman was fair game for slander. Her religion and nationality were detested, and her husband's enemies were constantly on the look out for occasions to lower her in the estimation of the people. Nevertheless no writer has ventured to assail the fair name of Mary of Modena, and no charge of, I will not say impropriety, but of levity or of the slightest indecorum has ever been made against her. Moreover it is, I think, evident from the tone of the contemporary writers that, notwithstanding the circumstances under which she came to England, Mary speedily won, not merely the respect of all classes, but a considerable amount of personal affection and popularity. Though she was extremely religious, she seems to have practised her religion in such a manner as to give the smallest possible offence to those around her, and though by nature retiring and fond of quiet, she recognised the duties of her position so as to bear her part in the Court ceremonies, not merely with becoming dignity and propriety, but with much innocent gaiety and lightheartedness.

Mary, like her husband, dictated her own memoirs, which were preserved by the nuns of Chaillot, and from these Miss Strickland has collected many details of her private life. (See also "The Life of Mary of Modena," by Martin Haile.) As a child she greatly wished to become a nun, and she opposed the project for her marriage with an energy and determination very unusual in a young girl, and only submitted in the end in deference to the expressed wishes of the Pope. She further tells us that after she was married by proxy, she fretted herself ill, and could not be consoled till her mother had promised to accompany her to England.

For this not very unpardonable offence, the Queen afterwards blamed herself severely, and in fact the result was somewhat unfortunate to the Duchess of Modena, who left Modena as Regent of her son's dominions, and returned, after escorting her daughter to England, to find herself ousted from that position. Mary also says that at first she did not like her husband, but that afterwards her affection for him grew with every year; and certainly in their later married life, no married couple ever lived on terms of more tender or intimate affection than James and Mary. Her grief for her husband's loss was almost excessive, and from that time till her own death on the 8th of May 1718, she lived, so far as was consistent with her duty to her children, the life almost of a nun, passing most of her time in the Convent of Chaillot, where she was buried. She died in her fiftieth year, and in the reign of George I.

Though King James afterwards became deeply attached to Mary, and was, at all times, fairly kind to both his wives, he was not, at all events till after he had been for some time on the Throne, by any means a faithful husband. It is somewhat irritating to find a man who, while he was, not to speak disrespectfully, continually worrying the world at large about his religious views and scruples, was at the same time so little under the practical influence of his religion that he could not restrain himself, even while he was the husband of a beautiful woman whom he professed to love, from constantly and openly outraging the common rules of morality and decency. James had many mistresses, all of whom, by a coincidence, appear to have been rather ugly women, a circumstance which some writers appear to think greatly aggravated his moral offences, but of these women I need only mention two as having in any way affected his public life. About the year 1670, during the life of Anne Hyde, James formed a connection with Arabella Churchill, whose brother subsequently became the celebrated Duke of Marlborough. By this woman James had a daughter Henrietta, who married the first Earl Waldegrave and is the ancestress of the present Peer; and

also a son James, who assumed the name of Fitz James and afterwards attained to the highest distinction. This son was born in 1671, and was therefore about fourteen when his father became King, and two years later he was created Duke of Berwick, but as he was afterwards attainted, his honours became extinct. Berwick joined his father in exile, and accompanied him in his disastrous expedition to Ireland, and after the King's return to France Berwick joined the French army and served with distinction in almost all the Continental campaigns of his time. At the battle of Almanza, being already Marshal of France and a Grandee of Spain, Berwick defeated the combined forces of England and Portugal, and thereupon Philip V. of Spain created him Duke of Liria and Xerica. He was afterwards nominated Commander in Chief of the French army on the Rhine which was opposed to Prince Eugene, and he was ultimately killed at the siege of Philipsburg in 1734 (temp. George II.).

In France and Spain Berwick is reputed as one of the greatest of the French captains, but he identified himself so entirely with the enemies of his native country that there is a natural tendency on the part of English writers to belittle him. He was twice married and had many children, and his descendants still flourish on the Continent.

James II.'s connection with Arabella Churchill had ended before his marriage with Mary of Modena, but after that marriage he conceived a violent passion for Katharine Sedley, a daughter of the Sir Charles Sedley who, even amongst the poets of the Restoration, obtained an evil reputation for indecency. James when he was King, following the precedent set by his brother, raised this woman to the peerage as Countess of Dorchester. He had, however, to do with a wife of different calibre from King Charles' Queen, and Mary of Modena resented his conduct with spirit and determination. On one occasion when he visited the Queen on his return from Lady Dorchester's rooms, James found the Queen surrounded by several of his leading Ministers, and the whole ecclesiastical force of their united households; and Mary,

backed up by Church and State, delivered so energetic a remonstrance that James was brought, metaphorically, to his knees, and then and there consented to dismiss his mistress, which he did. Thenceforth he seems to have considerably reformed his private life, and, notwithstanding some occasional and brief lapses from conjugal fidelity, to have lived on terms of affection with Queen Mary, and after his exile he turned over an entirely new leaf and lived, as I have said before, a life of great austerity and penance.

By Katharine Sedley, King James had a daughter Katharine. This lady was twice married, first to Lord Anglesey and secondly to John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, and as widow of that distinguished person many stories are told of her extraordinary eccentricities and of the pride she took in her "royal" birth. Her only son by her first marriage died in his non-age without issue, but from her daughter by her first marriage many noble families, including that of the present Marquis of Normanby, claim descent.

James II. had fourteen legitimate children, of whom, however, ten died as infants. Of these the first eight were by Anne Hyde, and the remaining six by Mary of Modena. They were—(1) Charles, born 1660. He died in 1661; (2) Mary, afterwards Queen Mary II., born April 2nd, 1662; (3) James, created Duke of Cambridge, born 1663. He died in 1666; (4) Anne, afterwards Queen Anne, born February 6th, 1665; (5) Charles, created Duke of Kendall, born 1666. He died in 1667; (6) Edgar (the only Prince of that name since the Norman Conquest), who was created Duke of Cambridge, born 1667. He died in 1671; (7) Henrietta, born 1668. She died in 1669; (8) Katharine, born 1670. She died in 1671; (9) Katharine, born 1675. She died in the same year. (10) Isabella, born 1676. She died in 1681; (11) Charles, born 1677 and created Duke of Cambridge. He died within a month; (12) Charlotte, born and died in 1682; (13) James, variously known as James III. of England, the Chevalier de St. George and the "first Pretender," born June 10th, 1688; and (14) Louisa, born June 1692.

I propose to deal first with Mary II. and her husband, William III. of England, then with Queen Anne, then with the Princess Louisa, and lastly with Prince James and his two sons.

If it is dangerous at the present day to say anything in favour of James II., it is almost equally dangerous to say anything in disparagement of his son-in-law, William III., who has been placed by Lord Macaulay and other writers on a pinnacle as a kind of idol for popular worship. Fortunately, however, I do not materially differ in my estimate of this King from his more reasonable admirers.

There are in history men and women whose individual characteristics, whose vices and virtues, whose motives and the influences under which they acted, appear so plainly in all their public actions that it is impossible to consider their public lives without constant reference to their individual characters. Of such men were the four Stuart Kings. There are, however, other men and women whose public actions stand out clearly defined for good or bad, but whose private characters are covered with a more or less impenetrable veil. One knows that they did such and such things, but one does *not* know precisely *why* they did them, or whether their action was voluntary and deliberate, or was induced by circumstances and by motives more or less concealed. Of such people there are always many views to be taken, and of such were, to some extent, William III. and his wife; as to both of whom all writers agree that they were extraordinarily reserved, and of apparently, at any rate, unusually cold temperament.

No one can doubt that William was a man of great ability, both regal and military, or that he possessed in an eminent degree those mental or moral qualities which enable a man to rule others; and I think it must be admitted that being once King, he was a far better King than any of the Stuarts, and that under his rule England not only gained in European importance, but made rapid strides towards that civil and religious liberty which she has since attained to.

No doubt great cruelties were committed by him or in his name in Ireland, and the massacre at Glencoe, in Scotland, stands out in history as one of the most cruel and barbarous deeds ever recorded. With reference to this massacre, it is disputed whether William knew beforehand what was to be done, but no doubt it remains as a great stain upon his reign. I myself, however, am inclined to believe, that though William was callous and cold-hearted, he was not by nature cruel or vindictive.

He has been accused of ingratitude and treachery to James II., but I confess I do not see that he had any particular cause for gratitude, or that he was more treacherous than his neighbours; and, indeed, I am inclined to think that he was less so. When James ascended the Throne there were only two living persons, William's own wife Mary, and her sister Anne, who stood before William in the succession; for, failing the descendants of James II., William, as the only son of James' eldest sister, was the next heir. James himself had no son, and had had no child born to him for nearly three years, and Anne, though she was a young married woman, and had given birth to three children in rapid succession, had lost them even as they were born. Under these circumstances William had a right to keep a close eye upon events in England, and there was much in those events to cause alarm to James' possible successor. It cannot be denied that the bulk of the English people were deeply dissatisfied, nor, I think, that they had good reasons for dissatisfaction; and I do not think it reasonable to blame the people for looking for assistance from William as the only Prince of the Blood who was in a position to help them, or to blame him for responding to the appeal, which indirectly, if not directly, was made to him. Putting aside the doctrine of the Divine right of Kings, which I think now is exploded, and admitting the difficulty of defining what is meant by "the people," I think that every nation has an inherent right to choose its own rulers; and it is quite obvious that when James virtually abdicated the Throne the people, with unanimity sufficient

for all practical purposes, chose William and Mary to reign over them. Therefore, without commending their conduct in detail, I think that in the main they were justified in accepting the Throne offered to them. Of William's private character, the last, but by no means the least enthusiastic of his biographers, Mr. Trail (see "William the Third," by H. D. Trail, series "Twelve English Statesmen"), says, "His character was stern, forbidding, unamiable, contemptuously generous, as little fitted to attract love as it was assured of commanding respect, and it bears in every lineament the unmistakable stamp of greatness." I do not think that I should have described William as exactly *generous*, contemptuously or otherwise, and in the passage quoted I should have substituted "fear" for "respect," and "power" or "strength" for "greatness"; but otherwise Mr. Trail's estimate in the passage quoted seems to me a just one.

The historians of William III. have made strenuous efforts to exalt his wife, Mary, into a heroine worthy of the hero they so much admire; but I think that their efforts are for the most part half-hearted, and that few people really entertain any cordial admiration for this Queen. On the other hand, the Jacobite writers represent her as a veritable "Goneril" come to life, and credit her with the most vile and malignant passions; I myself believe that she was a phlegmatic woman with no depth or refinement of feeling of any kind, and that she was wholly deficient in moral courage. That she had considerable abilities of a certain kind it is impossible to deny, but I believe that they were strictly administrative, and, so to speak, ministerial, and that she had no power of initiation or real force of character. She was married as a very young girl to a man, twelve years her senior, who was infinitely her superior in mental power, who could, and *did*, upon occasion, make himself very nasty, and of whom it is admitted that, whether she liked him or not, she was extremely afraid, and my belief is that at an early stage of her career she became so entirely dominated by her husband as to have become, at the date of the Revolution, practically

incapable of independent thought or action. I also believe that if her sister Anne had married a man of any ability she also would have become a mere cypher. Everyone agrees that William was throughout his life an unfaithful husband, though he never permitted his mistresses to acquire the smallest power or political influence, and I think it cannot be denied that in the early years of their married life Mary was much neglected and not a little snubbed. Nevertheless, the conjugal affection between William and Mary has been much extolled, and I believe that some such affection did exist. William's contempt for women of all kinds is well known, but his wife was able to be of substantial service to him, and I think that in process of time he recognised the fact that Mary was his most obedient and efficient servant, and in that capacity he came to feel for her a somewhat contemptuous regard. On the other hand, I think that William gratified his wife's somewhat sluggish ambition, and that, as is the case with some natures, her fear of and dependence on him gradually produced a certain amount of affection for him.

Of course Mary's conduct to her father is the ground upon which most of the charges against her are made, and it is conceded even by her panegyrists that her behaviour on her arrival in England after the Revolution was in such excessively bad taste as to be positively indecent. As I have said, she was not a woman of fine feeling, and I suspect that she was, as certainly her sister was, a woman by nature coarse; but when the charges of *ingratitude* are looked into I think that they admit of considerable modification. In consequence of Charles II.'s determination that his brother's daughters should be brought up as Protestants, they were separated from their father at a very early age, and I doubt whether, at any period of her life, Mary lived under the same roof with her father for more than a few weeks at a time, and I do not think he was a man likely to have won the affections of a very young girl whom he saw but seldom. His daughter was married at fifteen, and after that, except for a few months in

the year 1679, during which James was forced to leave England and was living at Brussels, father and daughter never met again. It must be remembered that all the persons about Mary in her youth—chaplains, governesses and companions—were instructed to tell her, and *did* tell her, that the religion of which her father was an ardent, if somewhat inconsistent, professor was all that was bad, and opposed to Christianity; and without crediting Mary with any strong religious feelings, I see no reason to doubt that she, as well as her sister, as they grew up were thoroughly imbued with the popular horror of the Pope and all his adherents. She could not, therefore, have felt any great respect for her father's judgment, and once removed to Holland she was thenceforth surrounded by men, including her husband, who disliked and distrusted him, and to whose interest it certainly was to alienate her affections from him. Under these circumstances I do not see that beyond the bare fact that he *was* her father, James had done anything entitling him to his elder daughter's gratitude, and I doubt if he had ever inspired her with much affection. I doubt also whether, even if she had desired it, Mary could, by any possibility, have stayed the course of the Revolution, and I am sure that if she had desired to do so, she had long before lost the moral force which would have been required to oppose actively such a man as was her husband. The Revolution once accomplished, Mary's personal interests of every kind were entirely bound up with the cause of her husband, and I do not think it unnatural that she should have espoused as she did the interests of William in opposition to those of her father.

That which appears to me to be most reprehensible in the conduct of both William and Mary in their relations to James II., is their having lent themselves to countenance and promote the lying stories which were spread about as to the birth of James' son—stories in which, I cannot bring myself to think, that they either of them for a moment believed. They probably thought, however, that the succession of a Prince who, it could not be expected, would attain to any-

thing like maturity before his father's death, and who would certainly be educated as a Catholic, would be a national misfortune ; and they availed themselves, I do not say excusably, but with much astuteness, of stories which at the time to some extent were believed in by the common people, and which might effectively be used against that large section of the community who still believed in the inalienable rights of primogeniture.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WILLIAM AND MARY (*continued*). — QUEEN ANNE. —
PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK. — SARAH JENNINGS
DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH. — ABIGAIL HILL, LADY
MASHAM. — PRINCE WILLIAM (DUKE OF GLOUCESTER).
— PRINCESS LOUISA.

WILLIAM III. was the only son of William II., Prince of Orange, by Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of Charles I. of England, and sister of the Kings Charles II. and James II. He was born somewhat prematurely on the 14th of November 1650, eight days after the death of his father, and was, throughout his life, of a somewhat feeble constitution, suffering from asthma and other maladies. He had just completed his tenth year when his mother died in England in December 1660, and his prospects at that time were far from brilliant, for the States General of Holland had refused to recognise him as Stadtholder. In 1672, however, William, being then twenty-one, the States, who were at war both with France and England, turned in their emergency to the heir of the Princes who had done so much for their country. William was elected Stadtholder, and in an incredibly short time he had established for himself the reputation, which he afterwards maintained, of being one of the greatest Captains of his age. In 1677 he, having become a person of first-rate political importance, proposed to marry his cousin Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York, and at that time heiress-presumptive to the English Throne. The marriage was solemnised in England on the 4th of November 1677, the Prince being then within a few days of completing his twenty-seventh year, and the Princess, who was born on the

30th of April 1652, being in her sixteenth year. Two days later James' second wife, Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son, who, during his short life of a few weeks, displaced the newly-made Princess of Orange from her position of heiress-presumptive, and this circumstance is said, to have ruffled the bridegroom's temper, and at all events, according to the contemporary records of the marriage, of which we have several, it was a somewhat gloomy ceremonial. The Princess is described as having cried incessantly, both in public and in private, from the 21st of October, when she was first told of the honours in store for her, until she left England with her husband about a month later, and Dr. Lake, her chaplain, specially records the "sullenness and clownishness of the Prince, and his want of attention to his wife." It is certain that William did not produce a favourable impression on the English Court, of which the ladies, and particularly the Princess Anne, then a very young girl, bestowed on him various nicknames, "Dutch monster," "Caliban," and the like. These amenities, which were no doubt reported to the Prince, perhaps contributed to the marked dislike, amounting to aversion, with which he always seems to have regarded his wife's sister.

Whatever may have been the case in later years, it is tolerably clear that in the early part of their married life William and Mary did not live happily, and that as Princess of Orange Mary's position was one by no means to be envied. Her husband's softer affections, such as they were, were given to a woman named Elizabeth Villiers, who was one of the Princess' household, and who retained her connection with William almost to the last. To say truth, however, William does not appear to have been at any time under female influence, and his mistresses never attained to any prominent position. On the other hand he was capable of strong and lasting friendship, and two great Peers at the present day owe their position to the benefits which he conferred upon two of his Dutch friends. These were William Bentinck, who was two years older than the King

and came with him to England, and in 1689 was created Earl of Portland, and Arnold van Keppel, who was a mere child at the date of the Revolution, and came over as one of the King's pages, and was created Earl of Albemarle in 1696. Both these gentlemen enjoyed the King's friendship and confidence throughout his life, to the almost complete exclusion of the English nobility, and both received from him honours and rewards somewhat disproportionate to their actual services, and they were both with him when he died. Bentinck and Keppel are the ancestors of the present Duke of Portland and of the present Lord Albemarle respectively.

William, as King, was comparatively seldom in England, being much occupied with his continental campaigns, and preferring, it is said, his native land; and in his absence his wife acted as Regent, or more strictly speaking as reigning Queen. At the date of the Revolution an attempt was made to make Mary Queen to William's exclusion, but he, characteristically refused to be held "by apron strings," and Mary herself strongly discountenanced her supporters. The result was that the Crown was settled upon them jointly during their joint lives, with remainder to the survivor for his or her life, with remainder failing their joint issue to the Princess Anne and her descendants, and failing her descendants, to the descendants of William by any subsequent marriage.

Mary has been greatly praised for her conduct of affairs during her husband's absence, but it is clear that she acted under his constant and minute directions, and with almost servile deference to his wishes.

Mary died on the 28th of December 1694 of smallpox in her thirty-second year, and having been Queen of England for over six years. William survived her for over seven years, and died from the effects of a fall from his horse on the 8th of March 1702, but he had for a long time before been in a very critical state of health. He was in his fifty-second year.

William and Mary presented an extraordinary contrast in their personal appearance, which gave rise to much ridicule on the part of their political opponents. He was a very small man, very short and thin, with a plain face, and a figure which narrowly escaped actual deformity. She in her youth was a handsome woman with a strong personal resemblance to the Stuarts. She was very tall, much taller than her husband, and early in life she became decidedly fat. They are both buried in Westminster Abbey.

After Mary's death William III. reigned with a purely Parliamentary title, by virtue of the Act which settled the Crown upon himself and his wife during their joint lives, and on the survivor to the exclusion, not merely of James II.'s son, but of his daughter the Princess Anne, for whose exclusion there was in fact no valid reason, either religious or political. William, however, was too strong a man to be trifled with, and while he lived, Anne prudently acquiesced in the arrangement, and she probably owed her entirely peaceful accession at his death to her having done so.

Anne was born on the 6th of February 1665, and she was in her thirteenth year at the date of her sister's marriage in 1677, and exactly twenty at the date of the death of Charles II., and the accession of her own father on the 6th of February 1685. She was just turned twenty-three when William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen in 1688, and in her twenty-ninth year when her sister died in December 1694, and in her thirty-eighth year when King William died in March 1702, and she herself became Queen. She had completed her forty-ninth year when she died on the 1st of August 1714.

This Queen is very commonly spoken of as "good Queen Anne," but I think it is generally admitted that she owes this appellation rather to her negative qualities, and to extraneous circumstances, than to any positive virtues of her own. Her sister is said to have resembled the Stuarts, but Anne greatly resembled her mother and her mother's family, which, though respectable, can hardly be said to have

been distinguished. It was said indeed that Queen Anne's maternal grandmother (the wife of Lord Clarendon) was the daughter of a washerwoman; but this is a calumny, for Lady Clarendon's father was Sir Thomas Aylesbury, a person of some reputation in the reign of Charles I.; and there is no ground for supposing that his wife was materially beneath him in rank. Nevertheless there is some reason to suppose that Queen Anne, like Queen Elizabeth, had on her mother's side a good many relatives of very inferior rank and position.

Anne does not appear, even in her youth, to have had any pretensions to beauty, and being very much given to good living of all kinds, she became at an early age very fat and gross in appearance. She suffered excessively from gout and other maladies, so much so that at her Coronation, when she was still under forty, she was unable to walk more than a few steps, and had to be carried about in a sedan chair.

She was a woman of no sort of ability, very illiterate and ignorant, and it would appear altogether deficient in what would now be called "culture"; moreover she was essentially of a very weak character, and was throughout her life completely dominated by the persons about her, so that she would hardly appear to have been at any time an altogether free agent.

Many comparisons have been instituted between Anne and her sister Mary, different writers taking different views, but with regard to the main charge brought against them both, that of ingratitude to their father, there can, to my mind, be no doubt that the case against Anne is far stronger than that against Mary. As has already been said, Mary left England on her marriage when she was a young girl of fifteen, and saw very little of James after that date, but Anne, from the date of her sister's marriage in 1677 until the Revolution in 1688, lived in constant and intimate intercourse with her father and his second wife; and whatever charges have been brought against James, no one has attempted to deny that he treated his second daughter with

uniform liberality and affection, or that, down to the last moment before she deserted him, he placed absolute confidence in her affection. There is not a particle of evidence that he interfered, or attempted to interfere, with the exercise of her religion, or that he ever failed to recognise in every possible way her place in the succession. From her position at Court, which gave her every opportunity of knowing the truth, and her whole conduct, both at and after the birth of the Prince of Wales, I think it clear that she in her heart believed from the first that which everyone has since admitted, namely, that the boy was her father's lawful son. Nevertheless her correspondence with the Court of Orange at this time shows plainly that, while she was keeping up appearances with the King and Queen, she was secretly inviting and urging on the intervention of the Prince of Orange, and doing her best to propagate the stories which were in circulation about her brother's birth. The circumstances of her flight from Court to join the invaders, as told by Miss Strickland, on good authority, are as odious, and prove as great a want of good, or even decent feeling, as those which have been so often related with reference to the arrival of Queen Mary in England ; and though, no doubt, in her later years, when she was a woman broken down by disease, and without husband or children or real friends of any kind, Anne evinced some symptoms of remorse, and some natural feeling for her young brother and sister (whose exile she had so largely assisted to bring about), I cannot condone on that account the bad feeling which, at any rate until after her father's death, she appears to have shown towards him on every occasion.

In the year 1683 Anne's position in the succession was very important. Her father had no son, and her elder sister, who had been married for six years, gave no sign of becoming a mother. It was therefore very important that Anne should marry, and it was not thought expedient that she should leave the country over which it was probable that she would at some time reign. Under these circumstances Prince

George, the brother of Christian V., King of Denmark, was selected as a Prince willing to live in England, and who would be a suitable husband for the Princess Anne. It will be remembered that Anne of Denmark, wife of James I. and grandmother of the Kings Charles II. and James II., was the daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark. Frederick II. was succeeded by his son Christian IV., who was succeeded by his son Frederick III., who was the father of Christian V. and of Prince George of Denmark. Christian IV. and Anne of Denmark were brother and sister. Frederick III. and Charles I. were first cousins, and consequently Christian V. and his brother George of Denmark were second cousins to King James II., and second cousins once removed to James' daughter Anne. Prince George arrived in England on the 19th of July 1683, and was married to Anne on the 28th of July, nine days later. George, who was born on the 21st of April 1653, being at that time in his thirty-first, and Anne in her nineteenth year. In the following September Prince George was naturalised as a British subject.

Of all the persons in English history who have been called upon to fill a great position in England, George of Denmark is probably the most utterly insignificant. It is said that before he came to England he had proved himself to be a brave soldier, but in England, though he occupied a prominent position during one of the most stormy and interesting periods of history, and was for over six years the husband of the reigning Queen, the only event in his life which has been recorded is that he deserted his father-in-law to join the Prince of Orange at the time of the Revolution in a particularly mean and shabby way. The witty Charles II. is reported to have said, "I have tried George drunk, and I have tried him sober, and I can make nothing of him either way." And the same King nicknamed him "Est il possible?" from a habit the Prince had of making that ejaculation whenever he heard any news, good, bad or indifferent. When James II. heard that his son-in-law, who had been taking supper with him in a friendly way on the previous

evening, had levanted in the night, he merely remarked, "Is 'Est il possible' gone too?" though the departure of the Prince was no doubt a great blow to the King's cause.

After the accession of William and Mary, George was created Duke of Cumberland, though King William, who entertained a cordial dislike to his sister-in-law and her husband, seems to have omitted no opportunity of snubbing them both.

When Anne became Queen, it seems hardly to have occurred to anyone to advance the position of her husband, who remained Duke of Cumberland; and as far as appears never exercised the smallest influence over his wife or her subjects in any matter, either political or social. He died on the 28th of October 1708, in his fifty-sixth year, and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Though in political and social matters Prince George may be said to have been a nonentity, he and the Queen seem to have lived on perfectly friendly terms, and they were the parents of many children.

The Queen's strongest affections, however, were given to two women, both of comparatively low birth and breeding, who were successively raised by her to a position of the highest importance, and who so largely influenced public events that their names are familiar to the most cursory reader of history. These were Sarah Jennings, afterwards Duchess of Marlborough, and Abigail Hill, afterwards Lady Masham. Jennings who developed into as vulgar and violent a termagant as could easily be found in any back street in London, obtained a subordinate situation in the Princess' household, when the latter was little more than a child, and immediately gained an ascendancy over the mind of her mistress, which she maintained for more than thirty years. In 1678 Sarah married John Churchill, already a distinguished soldier, and at that time attached to the household of James, Duke of York, by whose influence he was created in 1682 Baron Churchill. Churchill repaid this kindness of his benefactor by betraying him, and deserting to the

Prince of Orange on the latter's landing in 1688; and though he was regarded with some jealousy by the new King, he was too distinguished a soldier to be kept in the background. In 1689 he was rewarded for his services with the title of Earl of Marlborough. On Queen Anne's accession he was advanced to the rank of Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough, and appointed General of the Queen's forces during the war of the Spanish Succession, in which it is needless to say that he proved himself to be one of the greatest Generals England has ever produced. Nevertheless Marlborough was a man who appears to have been absolutely without principle or honesty, and he used his immense power to amass wealth for himself and his relations, with, as it seems to me, an almost cynical disregard for even the semblance of all less selfish considerations. He and his wife were the leaders of the great Whig party which dominated English politics from the accession of Queen Anne until 1710, and of which the prominent members were all connected by blood or marriage with the Marlboroughs. In this formidable combination the Duchess Sarah may almost be said to have been the leading spirit, for though she does not appear to have been a woman of any particular ability, the violence of her temper and her extraordinary disregard for the ordinary rules of decorum and good breeding, joined to the position of her husband, enabled her to maintain her influence over the Queen long after Anne had ceased to regard her with any kind of affection.

In the days of their youth the two women had established a practice of corresponding under the names of Morley and Freeman, and when one reads this correspondence it is difficult to restrain one's astonishment at the abject servility of tone adopted by the Royal "Mrs. Morley," and the extraordinary insolence of "Mrs. Freeman."

Sarah regarded herself and was regarded by the world as invincible so long as the Queen lived, but she found her match in the person of Abigail Hill, an obscure relative of her own, whom she had appointed as one of the Queen's bed-

chamber women. This person, who is said to have been very plain, with a large red nose, and to have been very sickly, seems to have presented a great contrast to the Duchess by the meekness and humility of her manners. She gradually insinuated herself into the Queen's confidence, with results which electrified the world. She was distantly connected with the celebrated Robert Harley, whom she introduced to the Queen, and with Harley's aid she gradually succeeded in undermining the influence of the Duchess and upsetting the great Whig administration. Harley was created Earl of Oxford and became Prime Minister, and Abigail's husband (who had been a "page of the back stairs," and was himself a person of no importance) was raised to the Peerage with the title of Lord Masham. The intrigues, however, of the two women who competed for Queen Anne's favour are so well-known, and have been so often related, that it would be out of place to enlarge upon them further.

I have said that the Queen owed her popularity to her negative as opposed to her positive qualities and to extraneous circumstances. In temper Anne appears to have been easy going and good humoured. When she was left to herself she was fairly liberal in money matters; she was neither cruel nor vindictive, her morality was unimpeachable, and her appearance comfortable and homely. I think that these qualities probably conduced as largely to her popularity as did her want of personal ability to establish the system of constitutional Government which has obtained ever since her time. She had neither the intellect nor the courage to originate measures for herself, and she had no strong passions to gratify, and thus she easily allowed the regal power to fall into the hands of her Ministers, who gradually began to look for support rather from the people than to the Crown. In Anne's time, though the contests of parties would now be regarded as sufficiently violent, they were conducted on a more or less constitutional basis, and presented an agreeable change after the civil wars, plots, persecutions, imprisonments and executions which had been the familiar incidents of the

preceding reigns. The nation enjoyed a far larger measure of civil and religious liberty than it had ever experienced before, and accordingly material prosperity increased, and without any direct patronage from the Queen literature and the arts greatly flourished. Under Queen Anne was effected the legislative union between England and Scotland, a measure which has been, at any rate for the last century and a half, regarded as an immense benefit to both countries ; and under Queen Anne, though the nation was at peace at home, the English arms under Marlborough achieved in the war of the Spanish Succession a series of brilliant victories profoundly gratifying to the national pride, and which added immensely to the reputation and consequence of the English throughout the Continent of Europe. Thus it came to pass that the reign of one of the dullest and most uninteresting of women has come to be regarded as a very bright page in the English annals, and as a consequence Anne herself has enjoyed a popularity both in her own times and in succeeding generations which it seems to me that she did little or nothing to deserve. She died on the 1st of August 1714, and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Queen Anne and her husband had, I have said, many children, as to the number of whom accounts differ. This is accounted for by the fact that some of the children were stillborn, and others died at their birth. She had five who lived long enough to be named ; Mary born in 1685, Anne born in 1686, William born in 1689, Mary born 1690, and George born 1692 ; but of these all but William died in the earliest stage of infancy. Prince William, who was born on the 24th of July 1689, shortly after the accession of William and Mary, and died on the 17th of July 1700, having just completed his eleventh year, and nearly two years before his mother became Queen. He seems to have been a shrewd and intelligent child, but he was diseased and sickly from his birth, his head having been much too large for his body. He suffered in consequence from faintness and giddiness when he walked or exerted himself. It is not likely that, under any

circumstances, he would have lived to man's estate ; but the system in which children were brought up in those days was that of "hardening" them, and to this system such small chances as the boy had were sacrificed. To encourage military tastes, Prince William was put at the head of a regiment of little boys, whom he was continually made to drill, and when he complained of sickness and fatigue, his parents, with no doubt the best intentions in the world, whipped him severely ; and the accounts given of the childhood of a boy in whose health the whole nation was deeply interested, are rather piteous reading. His life must have been one of constant suffering, over-exertion, and something not very unlike ill usage. His death was a great blow, not only to his mother, but to King William, who, notwithstanding his dislike for the boy's parents, seems to have had a genuine affection for the child, whom he regarded as the heir to his kingdom. It was commonly said that the childlessness of Mary, and the repeated maternal disappointments of Anne, were judgments upon them for their conduct to their own father ; and there is some evidence that Anne herself in her later years was inclined to take this view of her misfortunes. The young Prince William is commonly spoken of as the Duke of Gloucester, but in fact the patent creating him a Duke had not passed the Great Seal when he died. He is buried in Westminster Abbey.

On the death of Queen Anne the Crown, under the Act of Succession passed in the reign of William III., went to the Elector of Hanover, who became King George I. To this Prince and his family I must return later when I come to deal with the descendants of Elizabeth Stuart, eldest daughter of James I. King James II. had three daughters who survived infancy—the Queens Mary II. and Anne by his first wife, and the Princess Louisa, who was his youngest child by Mary of Modena. This Princess was born at St. Germain's on the 28th of June 1692, more than four years after the accession of William and Mary, and as she was born in the presence of all the French Princesses and great ladies, her

birth was universally recognised as putting an end to the absurd stories about the birth of her brother. She died of small pox at St. Germain on the 18th of April 1712, in her twentieth year, and about two years before the death of her sister Queen Anne, and she is buried, with her father, in the Church of the English Benedictines in Paris. All accounts agree that she was very pretty, and a girl of extraordinary piety and sweetness, and even the usually somewhat unenthusiastic Madame de Maintenon, in a letter written after Louisa's death, to her constant correspondent the Princesse des Ursins, waxes eloquent in Louisa's praises.

CHAPTER XXXV.

PRINCE JAMES STUART.—PRINCESS CLEMENTINA SOBIE-
SKI.—PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART.—PRINCESS
LOUISA OF STOLBERG GEDERN.—CARDINAL PRINCE
HENRY STUART.

HISTORY presents no more depressing reading than the accounts of the two Princes who styled themselves "James III." and "Charles III." of England, but were styled by their enemies the "Pretenders," but though their lives and fortunes were in many respects alike, the two Princes were men of very different character. I must confess that until the publication of a very interesting book, "The King over the Water," by A. Shield and Andrew Lang, I had regarded the elder "Pretender" as hopelessly uninteresting and despicable, but that book places him in a very different light from that in which he is represented in most of the books which treat of him, and in particular from that in which he is represented in the late Mr. Thackeray's "Esmond"—a book every one has read, and which is supposed to give a life-like picture of the times of which it treats. Judging from the "King over the Water," which seems to be a most minute and authentic life of this Prince, James would appear to have been a man of somewhat narrow intelligence—extremely obstinate, and naturally of a rather morose and gloomy temper, which was as he grew older greatly aggravated by his misfortunes, but who was nevertheless almost intensely conscientious, and singularly exact in the performance of what he conceived to be his duty, both in great things and small. No one has doubted the sincerity of his religious belief. He made too many sacrifices for his religion to make that possible, for it is

almost certain he might, more than once, have recovered his father's Kingdom if he would have become a member of the Church of England. This he steadily refused to do, but it was generally thought that, though in belief and name a Catholic, his life was so grossly immoral as to make his religious professions almost a mockery. The book referred to, which goes into the question of his morals with extreme minuteness shows, however, that his life, both before and after his marriage, was in fact extraordinarily chaste, and that the stories told about him, and particularly those implied by Mr. Thackeray, are entirely without foundation.

Matters are very different with regard to his son, Prince Charles Edward. No one can possibly say *he* is uninteresting, but alas! brilliant as were his early years, his later life was one of almost complete and unrelieved degradation, and is as sad a page as any in history.

Prince James Stuart, the only son of James II., who survived infancy, was born at St. James' Palace on the 10th of June 1688. His father was at the time of the Princes' birth comparatively an old man (in his fifty-fifth year), and was much broken in health; and there had been a sufficiently long interval since the birth of their last child to give rise to the belief that the King and Queen would have no more children. Therefore the birth of their son came as a somewhat painful shock both to the nation and to the King's married daughters, who were eagerly expecting the speedy demise of the King without male issue, and the consequent accession of his eldest daughter, and ultimately, as she had no child, of her sister Anne, who was then certainly regarded by the people with much interest and affection. As I have already said, if James had had no son, he would probably have been allowed to finish his life upon the Throne; but the birth of the infant Prince was the signal for the Revolution, which drove him and his parents into a life-long exile. On the 10th of December 1688, King James determined to send his wife and child to France, and in the midst of a pouring rain the Queen of England, carrying her own child, and with

one or two friends, left her husband's palace, on foot, to commence a journey which was attended with great peril and hardship. She arrived, however, safely in France, and was speedily joined by King James, and as I have already said they were received with great honour by Louis XIV. and installed in the historic Chateau of St. Germain, where they lived for the remainder of their lives and where they both died.

Prince James was in his fourteenth year at the death of his father in September 1701, an event which within six months was followed by the death of William III. and the accession to the English Throne of James' sister, Queen Anne. James had just completed his twenty-sixth year at the death of Anne and the accession of George I. in August 1714. He completed his thirty-ninth year on the day before the death of George I. and the accession of George II., and he had survived the succession of George III. for over five years when he himself died at Rome, on the 1st of January 1766, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

His father on his death-bed obtained from Louis XIV. the promise to acknowledge the claims to the English Throne of his young son; and accordingly the French King caused the young Prince to be immediately proclaimed King of Great Britain, and his title was afterwards recognised by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. As a measure of retaliation William III. caused an Act to be passed attainting the young Prince, who was styled the "Pretender"; and also the famous Act for the settlement of the Protestant Succession, whereby the Crown of England, failing heirs of William III. or the Princess Anne, was settled on the Electress Sophia of Hanover as the first Protestant Princess of the Blood Royal. This Act passed over the claims, not only of the young James Stuart and his sister Louisa, but as will be shown hereafter, the claims of many other Princes and Princesses who had been born into or joined the Roman Catholic Communion. The action of Louis XIV. in thus espousing the cause of Prince James was

attended with disastrous results to himself and his allies, for William made it the excuse for breaking the short lived peace which had been concluded between him and Louis at the treaty of Ryswyk. This was followed by the disastrous war of the Spanish Succession, which brought so much glory to the English arms, and reduced France for a time to a condition of the utmost distress and humiliation, and which cost to nearly every European nation countless lives and treasure.

In 1707 Louis proposed to invade England on behalf of Prince James, and assembled a large fleet at Dunkirk; but as is well known, the French fleet was encountered by a still larger English fleet and driven back to France. The Prince, who was with the French fleet, proposed to be put on board a small vessel with his own personal attendants, with the intent to effect a landing in Scotland, where he expected that his Scotch adherents would rally round him. The circumstances of the English government at that time were such that it is possible that if this spirited project had been carried out, James might have made good his claims to the Throne. The French commander, the Comte de Forbin, however, considering himself responsible for the safety of the Prince, refused to let him leave the fleet, and carried him back to France; and thus was lost what was probably the best chance for the restoration of the Stuarts that had ever occurred. On his return to France, Prince James joined the French armies in Flanders, and is said to have distinguished himself at the battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet; but in 1713 Louis was forced to sign the treaty of Utrecht, by which he acknowledged the title of Queen Anne, and by the terms of which James was compelled to leave France, which he did, taking refuge in the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine.

In 1715, a year after the accession of George I., broke out the Scotch Insurrection, which commenced in what is known as the "Hunting match of Braemar." A number of Scotch noblemen and their followers met under the pretence of hunting, and on the 6th of September 1715, under the leadership of the Earl of Mar, they proclaimed James King. They

marched to Perth, and on the 13th of November was fought the Battle of Sheriff Muir with a somewhat doubtful result. Mar, however, was an inexperienced and incompetent general, and he failed to make the most of such advantages as he had, with the result that the Duke of Argyle, King George's general, was enabled to take up an almost invincible position, which made it impossible for the Highlanders to march south. In the meantime James had landed with a small following at Peterhead on the 22nd of December, but he was met on all sides with such discouraging intelligence that he seems to have lost heart, and on the 4th of February 1716 he returned to France, having behaved, no doubt with discretion, but without as it would appear much spirit. He was then in his twenty-eighth year, and his subsequent career was not distinguished. He was constantly engaged in intrigues with all the Courts in Europe, and as Sir Walter Scott says, "With whatever Court Great Britain happened to have a quarrel, thither came the unfortunate heir of the house of Stuart to show his miseries and to parade his misfortunes." As a matter of fact the Prince's abilities and tact were by no means equal to the difficulties of his position, and to make matters worse he was constantly surrounded by a small group of followers to whom he entrusted all his plans, and whose discretion and fidelity was, to say the least, doubtful. He lived chiefly in Rome on pensions allowed him by the Pope and the Kings of France and Spain, and he there endeavoured to keep up the formalities of a Royal Court, but he gradually came to be treated with hardly disguised contempt by the world at large, even by his own followers. He died on the 1st of January 1766, and was buried at St. Peter's with all the honours due to a King. In person he greatly resembled his father, but early in life he is said to have acquired a very melancholy and peevish expression.

On the 28th of May 1719, when Prince James was in his thirty-first year, he married the Princess Clementina Sobieski, the granddaughter of the heroic King John III. of Poland. This lady, who was born on the 17th of July 1702, was a

fervent Catholic, and very romantic, and her imagination, from an early age, had been greatly affected by the misfortunes of Prince James, and, not having seen him, she accepted his proposals with eagerness. It was the policy of King George I. to prevent if possible the marriage of the Prince, and the English Minister at Vienna succeeded in inducing the Austrian Court to arrest the Princess on her journey to meet her future husband at Innsprück, and to shut her up in a convent. She succeeded, however, in making her escape, and in doing so showed much spirit and ingenuity; and she arrived at Bologna on the 2nd of May 1719, where she was subsequently married to the Prince by proxy, he being at the time in Spain. The marriage, however, which shortly afterwards was solemnized in person, proved far from a happy one, and the quarrels between the titular King and Queen of England became a source of continual scandal, both in Rome where they lived and amongst the adherents of the Prince. It is, however, fair to say that these quarrels would seem to have arisen wholly from what may be called incompatibility of temper, and that as far as appears neither party was guilty of any moral offence, though both, and in particular Clementina, seem to have shown some want of dignity and discretion. These quarrels are fully gone into in the work before cited, "The King over the Water," and are not now very interesting. The Princess Clementina survived until the 18th of January 1765, when she died in her sixty-fourth year, almost exactly a year before her husband. She was buried in Rome.

James Stuart and his wife had two children, Charles Edward and Henry. Prince Charles Edward was born on the 31st of December 1720, six years after the accession of George I., and he was in his seventh year when George II. became King in 1727. He was forty at the accession of George III., in his forty-sixth year at the death of his own father in 1766, and in his sixty-eighth year when he died of apoplexy on the 30th of January 1788, having been titular King of England for twenty-two years.

In his youth Prince Charles was singularly handsome, and very active and graceful in his movements. From his earliest youth he had accustomed himself to athletic games and exercises of all kinds, so that during his campaign in Scotland the Highlanders were astonished at his skill in their various sports, and at his extraordinary hardihood and powers of endurance. His personal courage was indomitable, his military abilities great, and it would seem that he possessed an instinctive and keen insight into character. Lastly he, in his youth at any rate, possessed in a degree, greater perhaps than any of his family, that marvellous power of personal fascination which more or less distinguished nearly all the Princes of the house of Stuart.

When he was not yet fourteen he was sent to serve under his uncle the Duke of Berwick, who it will be remembered was the natural son of James II. and the half-brother of Charles' father, and who was then conducting the Siege of Gaeta. The Duke, knowing that his nephew had been brought up under somewhat enervating influences, seems to have felt some uneasiness about the boy's first appearance in the army; but writing a few days after Charles' arrival to the Duc de Fitz James he says, after speaking of the gallantry with which the Prince had acted under fire, "In a word, this Prince discovers that in great princes, whom nature has marked out for heroes, valour does not weigh the number of years. I am now,—blessed be God for it! rid of all my uneasiness, and joyfully indulge myself in the pleasure of seeing the Prince adored by the officers and soldiers. His manner and conversation are really bewitching."

The Duke of Berwick was killed a few months later at the siege of Philipsburg in 1734, and the war ceased in the following year; but in 1743, on the breaking out of the war between France and England, Charles took service with the French under the Duc de Noailles, and distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Dettingen. In that year a great reaction set in in England and still more in Scotland. George II. was embroiled both with France and Spain, his

people were from a variety of causes reduced to great distress and misery, George himself was unpopular, and the glowing accounts sent from all quarters of the gallantry and promise of the young Prince Charles had raised the feeling in his favour to the pitch almost of enthusiasm. At this time the French contemplated a great invasion of England with a view to the restoration of the Stuarts, and Charles was sent for to Paris to confer with the famous Marshal Saxe, who was to be the leader of the expedition. As is well known, however, the expedition was abandoned, but Charles, unable to bear the disappointment, determined to effect a landing in Scotland on his own account, and though no doubt this project had the tacit approval of the French Court, it was planned and carried out by the Prince himself with but little assistance from outside. Having obtained a small loan from a banker in France named Waters, he arranged with a merchant named Walsh to sail for Scotland in a brig called the "Doutelle," belonging to the latter, and on the 22nd of June 1745 he set sail accompanied by only seven gentlemen, no one of whom was of any particular influence or importance, and escorted by a French man of war named the "Elizabeth." On the fourth day of the voyage they encountered an English battleship called the "Lion," and a battle ensued between the two men of war, as the result of which the "Elizabeth" was disabled and had to put back to France. During the conflict, however, Charles in the "Doutelle" succeeded in making his escape, and on the 18th of July he landed on the small island of Erisca between Barra and South Uist, and on the 25th of the same month he landed on the mainland at Borradaile. At first the accounts which reached him were discouraging in the extreme, and several of those persons to whom he applied refused their assistance, but having with some difficulty obtained an interview with Cameron of Lochiel, that chieftain, though at first inclined to take a most despondent view, yielded to the Prince's persuasions and espoused his cause. A beginning having thus been made, the highlanders began to join the Prince in constantly increasing numbers, and on

the 19th of August he raised his standard and proclaimed his father King. The English commander, Sir John Cope, instead of following the tactics of the Duke of Argyle in 1715, and barring the roads by which the highlanders could enter the southern districts, allowed himself to be diverted to Inverness; and thus Charles was enabled to march without serious opposition, first to Perth and thence to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 17th of September. His reception in Edinburgh was enthusiastic beyond words, and his stay there was signalized by two brilliant engagements, the "Canter of Colts Brigg" and the battle of "Prestonpans," in both of which King George's soldiers were signally and ignominiously defeated. On the 31st of October 1745, Charles recommenced his march southwards, and on the 4th of December he entered the town of Derby, and was within a hundred and thirty miles of London. In the meantime, however, the captains in his army had begun to dispute, and the highlanders had grown home-sick, and from no very intelligible cause a sort of panic seized the whole force. They positively declined to proceed further, and Charles, almost heart broken, and with, as it seemed, success almost in his hands, was forced to commence a retreat to Scotland, which by degrees took more and more the appearance of a flight. If he had advanced he would probably have become King of England. A French force of 10,000 men under the leadership of his brother Henry was actively preparing to embark for England, many of the Welsh gentry were actually marching to join him, the Duke of Norfolk and the leading Catholics were on the point of declaring themselves his adherents, and the panic in London was such that several of King George's Ministers were said to be seriously debating whether they should not take time by the forelock and proclaim King James III. before Charles and his body of "wild Highlanders" should have time to reach the Metropolis.

Charles on his retreat to Scotland was followed by King George's second son, the Duke of Cumberland, but before the Duke could arrive the fortunes of the Pretender were for a

moment raised by the battle of Falkirk, which was fought on the 17th of January and at which General Hawley sustained a complete defeat. On the 26th of January 1746 the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh, and on the 15th of April was fought the decisive battle of Culloden, at which Charles' army may be said to have been almost annihilated, and the hopes of the Stuarts finally crushed. The cruelties committed after this battle won for the Hanoverian Prince the title of "Butcher," which has stuck to him even to this day, and for a century later the name of Culloden was spoken of in the Highlands of Scotland with bated breath and with feelings of mingled horror and rage. Charles escaped, and for nearly six months he led the life almost of a hunted beast, hiding in the woods and caves of the north of Scotland, lying out upon the open heath and sometimes on the sea shore, and encountering perils and adventures such as it has probably been the lot of few other men and of no other Prince to meet with. It is remarkable that during this time, though the price set upon his head was immense and no one could offer him the least assistance except at the peril of life, no single person of the number of persons of all ranks and ages and both sexes to whom the Prince was compelled to reveal his identity ever seems to have even thought of betraying him. On the contrary, every one to whom he revealed himself seems, on the instant, to have been converted into an heroic and passionate adherent, ready to risk everything for his sake. To tell all the stories of Charles' escapes would fill a volume. A young girl, Flora Macdonald, risked her life and reputation to procure his escape, and for doing so her name has since become familiar to even the most casual reader as one of the heroines of history; a gang of lawless robbers concealed him in their cave for days, and parted from him with tears and every demonstration of passionate grief; elderly ladies who had seen their husbands and sons struck down at Culloden, put aside their own grief and exerted themselves for his protection with the energy and enthusiasm of young girls, and mere boys and ignorant gillies seem for the moment

to have been inspired with the courage and prudence of tried soldiers. Nor was the feeling excited evanescent. His name became almost a household word in Scotland, the ballads written about him, many of them the most beautiful in the language, are very numerous, the caves and hovels in which he had taken refuge came to be regarded almost as shrines, and the most trifling objects he had used—his old clothes, even his old boots, were handed down as relics and heirlooms, and many of them are kept as precious treasures to this day. No doubt personal loyalty to Kings was in the eighteenth century a sentiment far stronger and more widespread than it is at the present time, but it must be admitted that the personality of a Prince who could raise such profound and lasting enthusiasm must have been remarkable.

At length, on the 20th of September 1746, Charles accompanied by twenty-three gentlemen, and about a hundred and seven humbler friends; succeeded in embarking from Glencamger on board a French vessel sent for his relief; and on the 29th of the same month he landed in France. He was in Scotland and England altogether a little more than twelve months. On his arrival in France he proceeded to Paris, where he was kindly received by Louis XV., and for some time he seems to have been urgent, though without success, in endeavouring to obtain assistance both from France and Spain. In 1748, peace having been concluded between the English and French, Charles was ordered to leave French territory, which, with some want of dignity, he refused to do, and he was accordingly arrested at the Opera and forcibly removed to Vincennes, where he was kept for five days, and he was then carried to Avignon, where he was set at liberty. His subsequent career is melancholy. It is said that during his stay in Scotland, exposed as he was to the severest hardships, often drenched to the skin and having to lie for hours in his wet clothes, and often reduced to the last extremities of hunger, he first acquired a taste for strong drink, and it is at all events certain that soon after his return to France this taste developed itself with alarming

rapidity, and that during the later half of his life he was an habitual and confirmed drunkard. Sir Nathaniel Wraxall in his *Memoirs* says that in 1770, being summoned to Paris to meet the Duc de Choiseul, who was then meditating an invasion of England, Charles so far lost his self-respect as to present himself at the Hotel Choiseul in an advanced stage of intoxication. The Prince lived sometimes at Liège, sometimes at Avignon, and after his father's death in 1766 at Florence. He paid several secret visits to London, and is even said to have been present at the Coronation of George III. These visits were known to the English authorities, but so completely had the Prince's influence failed, that it was not thought worth while to interfere with them.

In April 1772 Charles, who was then in his fifty-second year, married the Princess Louisa of Stolberg Gedern. This lady's father, who was of a very ancient race, had been a Colonel in the Austrian Army, but had been dead for some time at the date of the marriage. Her mother belonged to the distinguished Flemish family of the Counts Horn, and was allied to many illustrious families on the Continent; and she was (through one of her grandmothers) descended from the Bruces, Earls of Elgin in Scotland. The Princess Louisa herself had, through the influence of the Empress Maria Theresa, been appointed a lay canoness of the Cathedral at Mons; but she had a sister married to the Duke de Fitz James (a grandson of the Duke of Berwick and second cousin to Prince Charles Edward), and it was by the Duke de Fitz James that the marriage between Charles Edward and Louisa was arranged. (See "Countess of Albany," by Vernon Lee.)

The Princess Louisa of Stolberg Gedern was born in 1752, and was thirty-two years younger than her husband, who at the date of the marriage had lost all personal advantages, and was already practically an old man.

The marriage was an unhappy one. Charles was at once an unfaithful, an unkind and a jealous husband; and Louisa unhappily gave him too much cause for jealousy. On the

9th of December 1780 she left him, and having taken refuge for some time in a convent, lived for most of the remainder of Charles' life at the palace of his brother, the Cardinal Prince Henry Stuart.

Prince Charles had no child by his wife, but he had at least one child by a woman named Walkenshaw who was the companion of his earlier wanderings, and who is said to have acquired a great and most injurious influence over him: His daughter by this woman he some years before his death created nominal Duchess of Albany; and this lady, who appears to have been an amiable person, was with him when he died. She herself died unmarried in 1789.

Prince Charles, who on his father's death assumed the title of Charles III., died in Rome on the 30th of January 1788, and is buried in St. Peter's with his father and brother. A stately monument over their tombs was subsequently erected, towards the expense of which King George IV. is said to have contributed.

Prince Charles is a prominent character in Scott's novel of "Waverley," the story of which is laid during the campaign of 1745, and he and his mistress Walkenshaw are also introduced into the novel of "Red Gauntlet."

After Charles' death the Princess Louisa, his wife, assumed the title of "Countess of Albany," and she went to live in Paris, where she entertained largely, but at the date of the French Revolution she fled to England, and being reduced to great poverty, King George III. very kindly granted her a pension. She died in Florence in the year 1824.

It is said that in the lifetime of her husband Louisa had become the mistress of the poet Alfieri, and she certainly lived with Alfieri after her husband's death, though they never married. It is said that afterwards, on the death of Alfieri, she married the French historical painter Fabre.

Henry Stuart, the second son of Prince James Stuart and Clementina Sobieski, was born on the 26th of March 1725, and in his youth is said to have been of even greater promise than his elder brother, but in the year 1747, when he was in his twenty-third year, he determined, somewhat suddenly, to

enter the Church. He was ordained priest in that year, and very shortly afterwards he was consecrated Bishop of Frascati and raised to the rank of a Cardinal. He appears to have been a very respectable and amiable man, and he enjoyed a large income from numerous benefices which he held in France and Italy, out of which he largely contributed to the support of his elder brother Charles during the later years of that Prince's life. During the French Revolution, however, the Cardinal lost the revenues he had derived from France, and also a pension he had received from the Court of Spain; and in 1796 he sold most of his family jewels in order to assist the Pope, Pius VI., to make up the sum of money exacted from him by Napoleon. Two years later, in 1798, when the French Revolutionary troops entered Rome, the Cardinal's palace was sacked, and he was compelled to fly to Venice, where he found himself reduced almost to destitution. In this emergency Sir John Hipposly, the English Minister at Venice, represented the Cardinal's condition to King George III., who, with equal generosity and delicacy, granted him an unconditional pension of £2000 a year, notwithstanding that on the death of Prince Charles, the Cardinal had assumed the empty title of King "Henry IX.," which he never formally abandoned. The pension was gratefully accepted, and Henry showed his sense of the kindness of the English reigning family by bequeathing to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., such as remained to him of the family jewels which had been carried out of England by his grandfather James II.

Prince Henry Stuart died in June 1807 in his eighty-third year, and as I have said, he is buried in St. Peter's.

In his youth his father created him (nominally) Duke of York, and he is commonly called the "Cardinal York," which seems to me to be a slight confusion of titles. He was in fact Cardinal Bishop of Frascati and titular Duke of York.

On the death of this Prince became extinct the male line of the Royal and illustrious house of Stuart, and he was the last living descendant of King James II. (See the "Last of the Royal Stuarts," by H. M. Vaughan.)

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HENRIETTA STUART, DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—ANNE DE BOURBON, QUEEN OF SARDINIA.—THE QUEEN OF SARDINIA'S DESCENDANTS.

IN a previous chapter I said that I would deal with the six children of Charles I. and their descendants in the following order:—Henry and Elizabeth, Mary Princess of Orange, Charles II., James II. and his descendants, including William III., and lastly, Henrietta Duchess of Orleans. Having concluded all I have to say of the descendants of James II., I now revert to his youngest sister Henrietta.

The Princess Henrietta was born on the 16th of June 1644 at Exeter during the siege of that city by the Parliamentary forces, and the greatest apprehensions were entertained by the Royalists lest the Queen, her mother, should fall a captive to the Parliament, an event which would have greatly crippled the King's hands. Therefore, when within fifteen days after her delivery, an opportunity offered for the Queen's escape to France, she was forced to take it; and as the dangers of the journey would have been greatly added to if the new born infant had been one of the fugitives, the Princess Henrietta was left behind. Some time afterwards she fell into the hands of her father's enemies.

It has already been told how in 1646 the child's governess, Lady Morton (afterwards Lady Dalkeith), succeeded in carrying her off to France, where she was received by the Queen and brought up as a Catholic. There is reason to believe that the Queen Henrietta had some hopes of arranging a marriage between the young King of France Louis XIV. and her own daughter; but Louis, who was at that time pas-

sionately in love with Mademoiselle de Mancini, would not accept the suggestion, and he is said to have ridiculed his cousin, whom he referred to as the "Bones of the Holy Innocents," in reference to her extreme thinness, and what he considered as her youthful insipidity. But if Henrietta did not find favour with King Louis she did with his brother Philip Duke of Anjou, who was for a time extremely attached to her, and as on the accession of Charles II. in 1660 the position of his sister was greatly improved, a marriage was arranged between Philip and Henrietta. Louis created his brother Duke of Orleans, a title which had become vacant by the death of his uncle Gaston, and the English Parliament settled a suitable dowry on the Princess, and on the 30th of March 1661 the young couple were married in Paris. At the date of the marriage Philip, who was born in September 1640, was in his twenty-first and Henrietta in her sixteenth year. The marriage was not a happy one. Philip was an effeminate and rather vicious person, whereas Henrietta, notwithstanding the unfavourable view taken of her by Louis XIV., not only developed into considerable beauty, but speedily proved that she possessed much intelligence and great powers of captivation. The Queen of France (Maria Teresa of Spain) was a kind-hearted but rather dull woman, and was very ill-fitted by nature for the position she was called upon to fill, and the Queen mother, Anne of Austria, was slowly dying of cancer, and thus for all practical purposes the Duchess of Orleans became the first lady at the French Court, then the most brilliant in Europe. She speedily acquired great influence over the King, and threw herself into the world of politics and pleasure with the avidity of a young girl newly emancipated from the almost conventual seclusion in which she had been brought up by her mother. Her levity and indiscretion gave rise to much scandal, and not only brought upon her the severe remonstrances of her mother and her mother-in-law, the Dowager Queens Henrietta and Anne, but led to many quarrels between herself and her husband. It is said that her relations with Louis XIV.

himself were too intimate, and they were certainly resented both by her own husband and by Louis' wife, but there does not appear to be any good ground for supposing them to have been criminal, though I can hardly say as much as to Henrietta's relations with the Comte de Guiche, who was said to have been her lover, and which, if not criminal, were certainly imprudent to the last degree. In 1670 a treaty was on foot between the French and English Courts, the terms of which are matter of general history. It was, however, a matter of the most urgent importance to both Louis and Charles that they should have an agent upon whose secrecy they could both rely, and the Duchess of Orleans, the sister-in-law of Louis and the sister of Charles, was chosen as this agent. She accordingly set out for England on the 24th of May in that year with a magnificent retinue and remained there till the 12th of June, when she returned to France, having accomplished her mission with, as it was thought, brilliant success. On her return she was received by King Louis with the utmost distinction and appeared to be in excellent health, but on the morning of the 29th of June 1670 Henrietta was taken suddenly ill, and she died shortly after midnight the following day, having been in terrible agony during the whole of her illness. The accounts of her deathbed and of her sufferings are extremely touching, and at the same time terrible, and the funeral sermon, on the text "Vanity of Vanities," preached by the great Bossuet at her obsequies, is justly quoted as one of the finest efforts of pulpit oratory that has ever been made.

It would seem that Henrietta for some time before her death had been anxious to repair the errors of her youth, and certainly she died deeply penitent and with every appearance of true Christian feeling. Her death created a profound sensation, for it was universally believed that she was poisoned, and very generally believed that her husband was the poisoner. She had many enemies who envied the position of consequence she held at the French Court, for it was known that Louis entrusted to her political secrets, which he

withheld from his family and his Ministers, and for a time her influence in matters of State was very great. This was greatly and perhaps justly resented by the Statesmen, who saw themselves superseded in favour of a young woman barely twenty-five, but it was by no one resented more bitterly than by her husband, whom Louis was accustomed to treat with the utmost contempt, and who saw himself excluded alike from the confidence of his wife and of his brother. Philip, however, had another grievance which he resented even more bitterly. Throughout his life he was completely under the dominion of a series of favourites with whom he spent most of his time in the most frivolous pursuits, upon whom he lavished his great fortune, and whose position was regarded with much indignation by the whole Court. Shortly before Henrietta's expedition to England the King had insisted on banishing one of these persons, known as the "Chevalier de Lorraine," and Philip, who indulged himself on the occasion in the most profuse lamentations believed, perhaps with reason, that this had been done at the instance of the Duchess. At all events it was the general opinion—an opinion, as far as can be judged, which Henrietta herself entertained, and which certainly was at first shared by the Kings Louis XIV. and Charles II.—that Philip poisoned his wife in revenge for the loss of his companion. That Henrietta did in fact die by poison is I think almost certain, though by whom it was administered it will probably never be known with certainty. Afterwards Louis XIV. is said to have satisfied himself of his brother's innocence, and according to St. Simon, on the occasion of the Duke's second marriage with Elizabeth of the Palatinate, Louis gave his personal assurance to the new Duchess that the Duke was innocent of the death of his first wife. At all events that astute person Elizabeth herself, though by no means inclined to regard her husband with too great leniency, in one of her letters, expressly says that she believes him to be innocent of this crime. I think he *was* innocent, for though he was a wretched creature, I should doubt if he had

sufficient force of character to have committed so daring a crime; but on the other hand all the evidence points to the implication of Lorraine. This person was afterwards allowed to return to France and reinstated in his position in the Duke's household where he amassed great wealth, and it is remarkable that notwithstanding the evidence against him, he was always treated with something like deference, not merely by the members of the Duke's family but by the King himself. In explanation it has been suggested that he was in the possession of State secrets, and that it was difficult to set him at defiance without involving their revelation by his friends in other countries.

The Duchess of Orleans was buried in the Church of St. Denis.

The Duchess Henrietta had three children, a son who died as an infant, and two daughters, Marie Louise and Anne. Marie Louise of Orleans was born in March 1662, and in a Court in which there were many beautiful women seems to have been remarkable for her beauty. Her father was very anxious that she should marry her cousin the Dauphin, the only son of Louis XIV., and there is a kind of tradition among French romancers that there was a strong affection between the cousins. Mary Louise was, however, married on the 1st of August 1679 by proxy to Charles II., King of Spain, and whether she had, or had not, a previous affection for her cousin, she certainly evinced a strong objection to this marriage; and indeed on the occasion of her departure for Spain she created something like a scene by her tears and lamentations. For these, however, she had in any case good reason. The Spanish Kings had for many generations married ladies nearly related to them, and Charles II. (the last descendant in the male line from the Emperor Charles V. and Philip II.), who was the son of parents (Philip IV. and Marianne of Austria) who were not only near cousins, but uncle and niece, was himself physically and mentally feeble and degenerate to the last degree, and could hardly have been regarded by any young woman as a husband without disgust.

The life of Marie Louise in Spain was very unhappy, but to enter into details with regard to a Princess, who though granddaughter of an English King had so little practically to do with England or the English Royal Family, would be out of place in this work. She died in 1689 without issue and as it is believed by poison administered by the Anti-French party in her husband's Court. As is well known Charles II. of Spain, who subsequently married again, died in 1700 childless, and thereupon Louis XIV. claimed the Spanish Crown in right of his own wife, Maria Teresa of Spain, and bestowed it on his grandson, who became Philip V. of Spain. Philip, however, was not established as King of Spain until all Europe had been deluged with blood, and the kingdoms of France and Spain had been nearly ruined by the most disastrous war of the Spanish Succession.

Anne of Orleans, the younger daughter of the Duchess Henrietta, was born on the 31st of August 1669, and was married on the 10th of April 1684 to Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, and afterwards first King of Sardinia, a Prince who played a most important part in the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the great war which broke out in 1690, notwithstanding his marriage with a French Princess, Victor in the first instance sided against France, and then, with much duplicity, changed sides. In the subsequent war which commenced in 1701 Victor Amadeus, though he began it as an ally of France, again suddenly went over to the enemy and took part against France with most disastrous results to the French arms. His conduct has been the subject of much animadversion by French writers, but for this second change of sides he received a reward by being declared at the peace of Utrecht, King of Sicily. He did not, however, long retain this kingdom, for in 1718 he was ousted by the combined efforts of the German Emperor (Francis I.) and Philip V. of Spain, receiving in exchange the Island of Sardinia with the title of King of Sardinia. His wife died in 1728 (see "The Romance of Savoy—Victor Amadeus II. and his Stuart Bride," by the

Marchesa Vitteleschi), and afterwards Victor abdicated his Throne in favour of his eldest surviving son by Anne of Orleans, Charles Emmanuel. This abdication is the theme of Browning's play "King Victor and King Charles."

In the summer of 1701 was passed the famous Act for the settlement of the Protestant Succession in England, by which, in the then almost certain event of the failure of issue of William III. and the Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne, the Crown of England was settled on their cousin Sophia Electress of Hanover, youngest daughter of the titular Queen of Bohemia, and granddaughter of James I. This Act excluded from the succession, on the ground that they were Catholics, James and Louisa, the surviving children of James II., Anne Queen of Sardinia, only surviving daughter of the Duchess Henrietta of Orleans, and granddaughter of Charles I., and several of the grandchildren of the Queen of Bohemia whose parents had been older than the Electress Sophia. The Act did not immediately affect the Queen of Sardinia, who so long as there were living descendants of James II., who was her mother's elder brother, could allege no title to the English Throne; but there is no doubt that she and her husband, Victor Amadeus, resented it, and it probably influenced the latter in the course he took at the beginning of the war of the Spanish Succession.

When the Act was passed there was a very large party in the United Kingdom, known as the Jacobites, who denied the competence of Parliament to change the succession, and who seem to have regarded the hereditary rights of the Stuart Princes to succeed to the English Throne almost as a religious principle, and who consequently continued to recognise those Princes as their lawful Kings. After 1745, when it became obvious that the restoration of the Stuarts was practically impossible, this party rapidly and steadily declined both in numbers and influence, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the title of George III. was recognised all over the world with substantial unanimity. Nevertheless there remained a small body of fanatics who, in theory

rather than practice, continued to regard the Cardinal Prince Henry Stuart as the lawful King ; and when he died in 1807 a certain number of this body transferred their attention to the descendants of the Queen of Sardinia, who as they considered had a better title than the reigning family.

Of late years, that is to say in the later years of Queen Victoria, there arose a sort of recrudescence of this feeling of misplaced loyalty to the more ancient line. A society was established which called itself the "White Rose League," which occasionally held meetings, which at intervals published a newspaper, and which professed to regard the Princess Mary of Modena, wife of Prince Louis, eldest son of the present Prince Regent of Bavaria, as the lawful Queen of England. The members of this League were accustomed on festive occasions to drink the health of that Princess as "Queen Mary IV." and to indulge in other harmless eccentricities. Whether the Society still exists I am not quite sure, but without attaching the smallest importance to its vagaries, I think it may be interesting to my readers if I gave some account of the descendants of Queen Anne of Sardinia.

To do this in detail would be impossible, for at the present time, her descendants number I believe several hundreds, and are to be found in the reigning families of nearly every European country. I shall therefore content myself with dealing with three of the more illustrious lines which claim descent from this Princess.

First amongst these is the line from which is sprung "Queen Mary IV.," who, but for the Act of Succession passed in the reign of William III., now 200 years ago, would, according to the old law, have been the lawful Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

Queen Anne of Sardinia had two sons, the elder of whom died without issue in his father's life, and the younger succeeded his father as Charles Emmanuel III., King of Sardinia ; for though he was in fact only the second King of his family, the Kings of Sardinia were primarily Dukes of Savoy, and chose after they became Kings to carry on the numeration of

the illustrious line of Dukes from which they were descended. Charles Emmanuel III. died in 1773 (temp. George III.), and was succeeded by his eldest son Victor Amadeus III., who died in 1796 (temp. George III.). Victor Amadeus III. was succeeded by his two sons, Charles Emmanuel IV. and Victor Emmanuel I., who reigned successively, the one from 1796 till 1819 (temp. George III.), and the other from 1819 till 1824 (temp. George IV.). These two Princes, Charles Emmanuel IV. and Victor Emmanuel I., according to the Jacobites were Kings of England, and are known in the pedigrees published by the "White Rose League" as Charles IV. (who is supposed to have succeeded on the death of the Cardinal of York) and Victor I. Charles Emmanuel IV. had no child, and Victor Emmanuel I. had only daughters, so that as the Salique Law obtained in Sardinia, on the death of Victor Emmanuel I. the Crown of Sardinia passed to his nephew Charles Felix I., who was the son of his younger brother, and on the death of Charles Felix I. without issue in 1831, it passed to a junior branch of the house of Savoy, which was not descended from Anne Queen of Sardinia and her mother the Duchess of Orleans, and which is now represented by the present King of Italy.

According to the Jacobites, however, on the death of Victor Emmanuel I. in 1824 the Crown of England passed to his eldest daughter, whose name seems to have been Beatrice, but who, for some unexplained reason, is described in the annals of the White Rose League as Mary III. This lady married Francis IV. Duke of Modena, and died in 1840 (temp. Victoria), leaving an eldest son, who on the death of his father in 1846 became Francis V. Duke of Modena, and according to the Jacobites succeeded on the death of his mother to the Crown of England as Francis I.

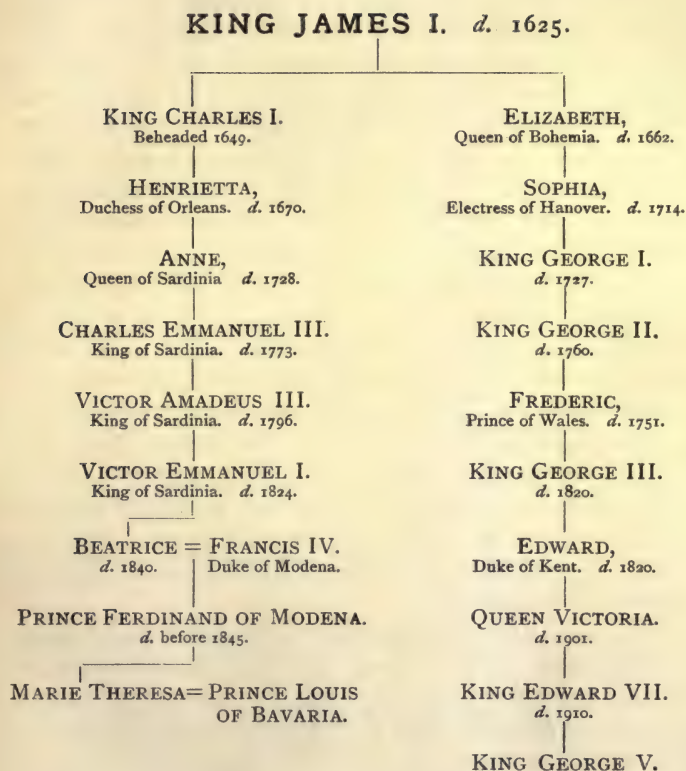
It will be in the recollection of some of my readers that in 1860 Francis V. Duke of Modena was deprived of his dominions, which were annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia, which kingdom in the following year was merged in the greater kingdom of Italy.

Duke Francis V. died in November 1875 without issue, but he had a younger brother Ferdinand who died many years before him, leaving an only child Mary, who became the wife of Prince Louis, eldest son of the Prince Regent of the kingdom of Bavaria, and this lady is now, according to the Jacobites "Queen Mary IV." (see Table XVI.).

It will be interesting and also surprising to Englishmen to know that since the death of James II., who died in 1701, they have lived under, not the monarchs whose names are to be found in English Histories, but under the following Sovereigns, namely: James III. (the first "Pretender"), Charles III. (the second "Pretender"), Henry IX. (the Cardinal Duke of York), Charles IV., Victor I., Beatrice or Mary III., Francis I., and Mary IV., who still lives and flourishes, but who in all probability does not take her rank as "Queen of the United Kingdom" very seriously.

Adelaide of Savoy, eldest daughter of Anne Queen of Sardinia, married Louis Duc de Bourgogne, eldest grandson and heir of Louis XIV. of France, and it would be impossible for anyone who has even the most superficial knowledge of the history of the Court of Louis XIV. not to be familiar with the singularly interesting and pathetic history of this young Princess and her husband upon which it would be out of place for me to dwell here. They died within a week of one another in 1712, leaving a son who became Louis XV. of France, and reigned from 1715 till 1774. Louis XV., who was the grandson of Queen Anne of Sardinia, was the grandfather of three Princes; each of whom was King of France, namely, Louis XVI., who was beheaded in the French Revolution in 1793; Louis XVIII., who was restored in 1814 and died in 1824; and Charles X., who reigned from 1824 till 1830, when he was expelled, and who died in 1836. Louis XVI. had two children, the unhappy little Dauphin, known as Louis XVII., who was done to death by the Revolutionists, and "Madame Royale," who survived her long captivity and married her cousin the Duc d'Angoulême, eldest son of Charles X., but left no issue. Louis XVIII. had no child, but Charles

TABLE XVI.

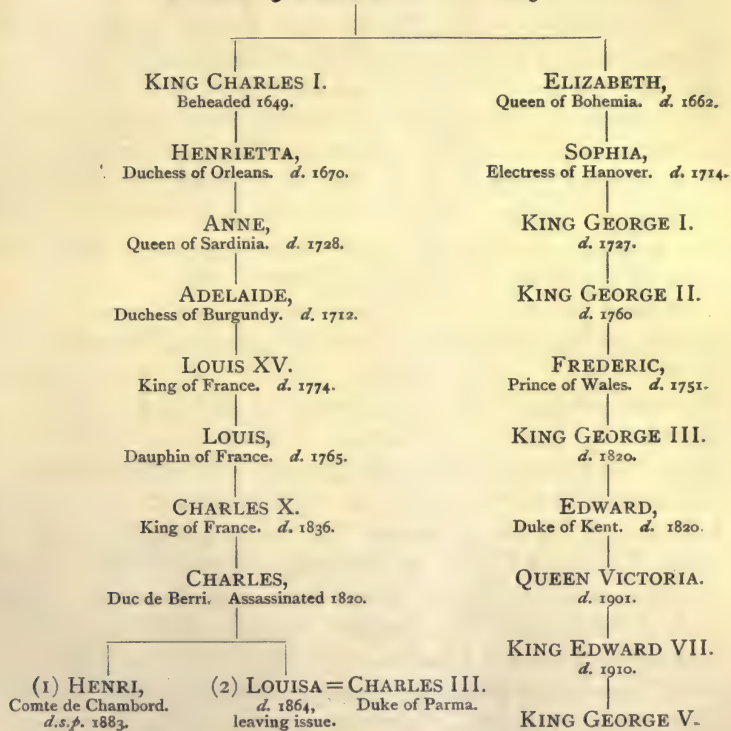


X. had two sons, the Duc d'Angoulême before mentioned, who had no child, and the Duc de Berri, who was assassinated in 1820, and left a posthumous son Henry who assumed the title of Comte de Chambord, and died without issue in 1883. He will be in the recollection of most of my readers as a prominent personage in almost contemporary European politics, and as having been considered by the legitimist party in France as lawfully King of France. It may not perhaps be equally well known that out of the several hundred persons now living who claim descent from James I. of England, he stood according to the laws of hereditary descent, which regulated succession to the English Throne prior to the Revolution of 1688, very much higher in the succession than our present Sovereign (see Table XVII.). The Comte de Chambord had a sister, Princess Louise of France, who married Duke Charles III. of Parma. This lady died in 1864 leaving two children, a daughter who married the exiled Archduke Francis IV. of Tuscany, and a son who assumed the title of Comte de Bardi and died, I think without issue, in 1905. The Archduchess of Tuscany is, I believe, living, and had a very large family, many of whom are married and have children and whose names and titles will be found recorded in the *Almanach de Gotha* under the heading "France, Bourbon Ligne Ducale de Parma," and "Autriche Branche non regnante, Toscane."

Marie Louise of Savoy, youngest daughter of Anne Queen of Sardinia, and younger sister of Adelaide Duchesse de Bourgogne, married Philip V. King of Spain, who was the grandson of Louis XIV. and the younger brother of the Duc de Bourgogne, but her issue by that King became extinct on the death of her son Ferdinand VI. of Spain in 1759. Nevertheless, the present King of Spain Alphonso XIII., in whom as having married an English Princess we are all interested, is directly descended from Anne Queen of Sardinia in the manner following: Louis XV. of France was the son of Adelaide of Savoy, eldest daughter of Queen Anne of Sardinia. Louis XV.'s eldest daughter, Marie Louise of France,

TABLE XVII.

KING JAMES I. *d.* 1625.



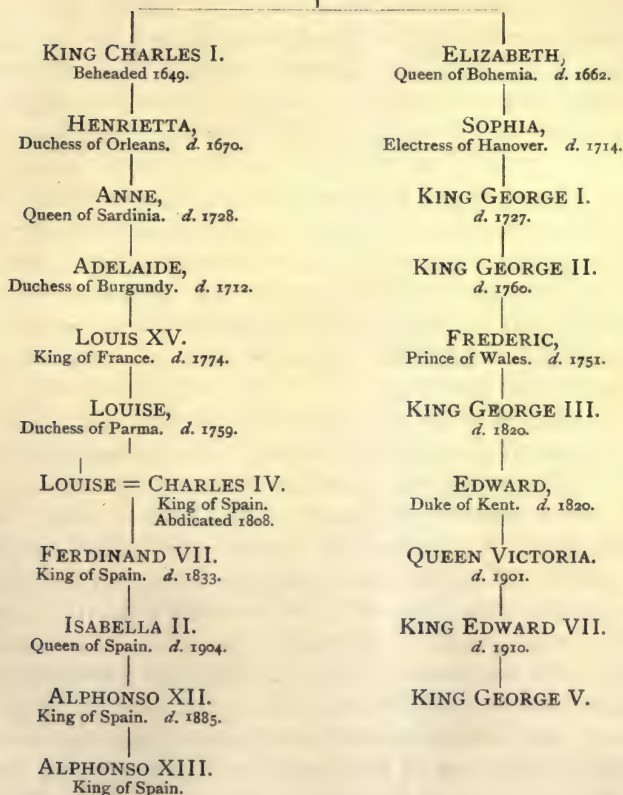
married Philip Duke of Parma, and her eldest daughter, Louisa of Parma, married Charles IV. of Spain, who was the grandson of Philip V. by his second wife, Elizabeth Farnesé. Charles IV. abdicated in 1808, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand VII., who was the father of Isabella, the ex-Queen of Spain, grandfather of Alphonso XII., and great-grandfather of Alphonso XIII. (see Table XVIII.).

In addition to the Royal lines already mentioned, the Royal families of Saxony and Portugal, and the families of the late Emperor of Brazil, the late King of Naples and the late Duke of Parma, are descended from Anne Queen of Sardinia, and through the alliances of these illustrious families it is probable that most of the other Royal or semi-Royal persons in Europe claim descent from Charles I. I have not, however, thought it worth while to go into these questions of genealogy further than I have done.

When the Act of Succession was passed it was necessary to look rather far afield to find the required Protestant heir to the Throne. Not counting William III. himself and the Princess Anne, there were living only three grandchildren of Charles I., James and Louisa, children of James II., and Anne Queen of Sardinia, daughter of Henrietta Duchess of Orleans; but as they were all three Catholics the required heir had to be found among the descendants of Charles I.'s sister, Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. That Princess had had thirteen children, but of these only three, her sons Charles and Edward and her daughter Sophia, had had children. The descendants of Charles and Edward (both of whom were dead) were Catholics, and therefore the choice fell on Sophia Electress of Hanover, a lady who was then in her seventy-first year, and therefore not likely to survive William and Anne, but Sophia had already a son and a grandson to carry on the succession. I must in the next chapter revert to the history of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. and sister of Charles I., who is the connecting link between His present Majesty and the illustrious houses of Plantagenet and Stuart.

TABLE XVIII.

KING JAMES I. *d.* 1625.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

ELIZABETH QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.—HER SON CHARLES LOUIS, ELECTOR PALATINE.—HIS DAUGHTER, ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE, DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.—THE DESCENDANTS OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

IT is difficult to give an intelligible account of the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia, without trenching too much on the province of the general historian, inasmuch as the details of her life are almost inextricably bound up with the history of that terrible religious war known as the Thirty Years' War which devastated Europe between the years 1619 and 1649.

Elizabeth was born in Scotland on the 19th of August 1596, nearly seven years before her father, then James VI. of Scotland, became James I. of England, and she accompanied her mother, Anne of Denmark to England in 1603. In her childhood she saw little of her parents, and it does not appear that either of them entertained any very strong personal affection for her. On the 14th of February 1613 she was married in England to Frederic V., Count Palatine of the Rhine. He was, however, also one of the Electors of the Empire, that is to say, he was one of the seven Princes (their number was afterwards increased) whose privilege it was to select the Emperors of Germany, and the dignity and rank of the Electors was very great. Frederic V. himself, though not until after his marriage, claimed on the occasion of a proposed (but afterwards abandoned) visit to England, that he was entitled to precedence, as Elector, over the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I.; and Frederic's ungracious son Charles Louis, who ultimately succeeded him as Elector

Palatine, having reluctantly invited Charles II., then an exile, to visit him at Heidelberg, contrived to make the visit impossible by himself claiming precedence, on the ground that an Elector was of higher rank than a king.

Frederic V. was three days younger than his wife, and at the date of the marriage he and Elizabeth were both in their seventeenth year. They were somewhat alike in character, and from the first seem to have been deeply and sincerely attached to one another, and their married life was a model of conjugal union. They were both religious, affectionate, and somewhat impulsive. They had both a strong taste for music and art, and they neither of them, had as it seems to me, any great ability or strength of character. Elizabeth, however, had the advantage; for she had an unconquerably cheerful and sunny temper, which enabled her to meet the misfortunes of her life, with dignity and patience. It is impossible to read her letters without understanding the strong personal affection with which she inspired the persons whom she came across, and which won for her in her middle life, and though she does not appear to have been particularly beautiful, the title of "Queen of Hearts." Frederic, on the other hand, was sensitive, nervous and irresolute. He took his troubles *hardly*; and though he actually died of the Plague, it is probable that he succumbed to the disease as the result of profound depression and constant fretting. The married life of Frederic and Elizabeth opened with every appearance of brilliant happiness. Their capital was the beautiful town of Heidelberg, and the Castle, in which they lived, though now in ruins, is still visited by all lovers of the picturesque. Their children, who showed every promise, came rapidly,—their subjects were enthusiastically devoted to them, and they appear to have lived on the most friendly and intimate terms with all their neighbours. Into this happy condition of things intruded the element of religious discord. The Emperor Mathias, who was not only German Emperor, but King of Bohemia, had caused his nephew Ferdinand, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand II., to be

recognised as his successor in the Kingdom of Bohemia. Ferdinand was a somewhat intolerant Catholic, and the Bohemians were strong Lutherans, and Ferdinand endeavoured with a strong hand to force his religion on his new subjects, who resisted with fierce energy, and ultimately offered their Crown to the Elector Palatine. There can be no doubt that the position of the Bohemian Protestants was regarded with the strongest sympathy by the Protestants throughout Europe, and Frederic was urged on all sides to accept the proffered Crown, and by no one more strongly than by his wife. Elizabeth is credited with having acted in this matter under strong religious feeling, but I think that she was also influenced by ambition, for when reminded of the difficulties of the undertaking she is said to have declared that "she would rather eat a dry crust at a King's table than feast on luxuries at the table of an Elector." If she said this she must have remembered it afterwards with bitterness, when in after years, as a titular Queen, she was straining every nerve to recover her position as Electress, and seemed likely to be *literally* reduced to a dry crust at her table.

Frederic accepted the offered Crown. Mathias died in March 1619, Ferdinand was elected Emperor, and in October 1619 Frederic and Elizabeth proceeded almost without opposition to Prague, and were there crowned King and Queen of Bohemia.

Their *début* in their new character was not successful. They were Protestants and so were the Bohemians, but they were Protestants with a difference. Frederic and Elizabeth were Calvinists, and the Bohemians were Lutherans, and as Calvinists, Frederic and his wife strongly objected to the religious statues and emblems which decorated the churches in Prague, and to which the Bohemians were much attached. Frederic's first measure was to order the demolition of the statues in the Cathedral. This was resented; but when it came to his ordering the demolition of the statues on the Bridge of Prague,—statues to which the strongest historical and patriotic sentiment was attached, a formidable riot

ensued, and the order had to be revoked. Elizabeth is reported to have said that she would never cross the bridge while the statues remained, a saying which must have added to her distress when some months later she was reduced to cross the bridge with the statues on it flying for her life.

In the meantime the Emperor Ferdinand was collecting his forces, which in the summer of 1619, under the famous General Spinola, entered, not Bohemia, but Frederic's hereditary dominions of the Palatinate, which they ravaged with extraordinary cruelty. The Protestant Princes on whom Frederic had relied for the most part hung back, or at the best rendered lukewarm assistance, and in particular his father-in-law, James I. of England, refused to do anything but offer mediation. For this James has been greatly blamed, but it is clear that he from the first doubted the wisdom of his son-in-law's action, and that his promises of support, such as they were, had been to the last degree vague; and it is difficult to see on what principle the English nation ought to have been involved in the domestic affairs of a country so distant as Bohemia. At all events the Imperial forces met with little opposition, and in September 1620 they advanced to Prague, where they defeated Frederic's army, and Frederic and Elizabeth, after a reign of less than twelve months, were forced to fly. They were not allowed to go to England as they wished, and they took up their residence at the Hague, where they lived for the rest of their joint lives, and where they were treated by the Dutch nation with singular generosity and kindness.

I cannot follow the further details of the Thirty Years War, which, though originated by Frederic and Elizabeth, involved other interests than theirs. Living at the Hague, they wearied every Court in Europe with appeals for assistance, and until the death of Frederic they were more or less mixed up with all the intrigues which were carried on amongst the contending Princes. Frederic, however, does not appear to have personally impressed his contemporaries. He was accused, though it would seem without reason, of personal

cowardice ; he was certainly irresolute, and his poverty, and some want of personal dignity, made him a subject of ridicule amongst the wits and lampooners of the day, who had already become a power in Europe. Shortly before his death his prospects seemed brighter, for his cause was espoused by the great Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, but that King was killed on the 6th of November 1632 at the battle of Lutzen, and on the 19th of the same month Frederick died of the plague at Darmstadt in his thirty-seventh year. For the next twenty-nine years Elizabeth continued to live at the Hague. Her grief for her husband was great, but she gradually recovered her spirits, and notwithstanding her poverty, which was at times extreme, she seems on the whole to have enjoyed her life. At first she received a pension from her brother Charles I., but when the Civil War broke out in England that ceased, and she was reduced for many years to live on the charity of the States of Holland, and of private individuals ; and as, shortly after the commencement of the Thirty Years War, she had incurred heavy debts on her husband's behalf—she suffered much from the importunities of her creditors. After the Restoration in 1660 she received a grant from Parliament which covered her debts, and a pension from King Charles II., and in May 1661 she proceeded to England. It has been said that she was not invited, and that her visit was not altogether welcome, but certainly after her arrival she was treated with kindness and consideration by her nephew. She died on the 29th of January 1662 in a hired house which she had taken in Leicester Fields, now Leicester Square, and she is buried in Westminster Abbey. She was in her sixty-sixth year when she died.

It has been said that Elizabeth was privately married to Lord Craven. He was certainly one of her most devoted adherents, and he held a distinguished position in her household at the Hague, and being comparatively a rich man he made many pecuniary sacrifices on her behalf, but for the story of the marriage there is no reliable evidence, and I

believe it to be untrue. Elizabeth, who throughout her life clung to the title of Queen of Bohemia, had thirteen children: (1) Frederic, born 1614; (2) Charles, born 1615; (3) Elizabeth, born 1618; (4) Rupert, born in Prague, 1619; (5) Maurice, born 1621; (6) Louise, born 1522; (7) Louis, born 1623; (8) Edward, born 1624; (9) Henrietta, born 1625; (10) Philip, born 1627; (11) Charlotte, born 1629; (12) Sophia, born 1630 (some months after her cousin Charles 11.); and (13) Gustavus, born 1632.

I propose to deal with these children according to their seniority.

Frederic, the eldest, was accidentally drowned at sea in January 1629 in his fifteenth year.

About this time Royal persons began to adopt the very inconvenient practice of calling themselves by two christian names, and Charles, Elizabeth's second son, is usually called in history Charles Louis. He was one of the most unworthy Princes to be found in history. Born in 1615, he was at an early age sent to England, where he was received with the greatest distinction by his uncle Charles I., but on the breaking out of the Civil war, notwithstanding the kindness he had received, and the fact that his younger brothers, Rupert and Maurice, were active in the King's service, he attached himself to the Parliamentary party, whom he toadied with great sycophancy, and from whom he continued to receive a pension originally granted him by his uncle. Before Charles I.'s execution his nephew proposed to visit him, but the King, though he sent him his forgiveness, refused to allow his last hours to be disturbed by the visit of a person by whom he had been treated with so much ingratitude.

Afterwards Prince Charles returned to Holland, where he was received with much disfavour by his mother and his other relatives, who were strong Royalists, and he appears to have been generally regarded with a good deal of contempt by most of the European Princes. Nevertheless in 1648, at the treaty of Westphalia, he recovered possession of his father's original dominions, and he assumed the title of

Elector Palatine. His family did not much profit by his advancement, for, on the ground of poverty, he refused to pay his mother's jointure, and made her only a very small allowance, which, irregularly paid at the best, was frequently and on the smallest pretences stopped altogether.

In 1649 the Elector Charles married the Princess Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel, a lady whom he persistently ill-treated in every possible way. Not content with living openly with a mistress, Louisa de Degenfeldt, under the roof which sheltered his wife, he committed the indecency of going through a form of marriage with this woman, notwithstanding that the Electress was alive—that there had been no divorce, and that there was no pretence for obtaining one. Charlotte, who was of a violent temper, hearing of this indignity, attempted to shoot her husband, whereupon she was placed in confinement and serious fears were entertained for her fate, but ultimately, with the aid of her husband's sister Elizabeth, she escaped, and with her sister-in-law took refuge at the Court of her own brother. Afterwards, when Charles' only son by Charlotte had been married for several years and had had no child, and when grave difficulties were apprehended as to the succession to the Electorate, the Elector Charles approached his injured wife with some servility, entreating her to consent to a divorce. This she refused, and he died in 1682 aged sixty-five, the divorce never having been effected. His death involved the Electorate in another and a most disastrous war. By the Electress Charlotte, Charles had had two children, a son Charles, who married a Danish Princess, and died without issue in 1685, and a daughter Elizabeth, commonly called Elizabeth Charlotte, who became the second wife of Philip Duke of Orleans, younger brother of Louis XIV. By the laws of the Palatinate, the succession passed only in the male line and on the death in 1685 without issue of the younger Elector Charles, who succeeded his father and was elector for three years, his father's brothers being all dead without male issue, the Electorate was claimed, and justly claimed, by a Prince of a collateral branch of the Palatine family. Never-

theless, Louis XIV. saw proper to set up a claim on behalf of his sister-in-law Elizabeth Duchess of Orleans, and the unfortunate provinces of the Palatinate, which during the Thirty Years War had been ravaged by the Imperial forces, were given over as a spoil to the French armies. Ultimately, at the peace of Utrecht, the claims of the Duchess Elizabeth were withdrawn, and the original line of the Counts Palatine was re-established.

On the death of his elder brother Frederic, the Elector Charles Louis, second son of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, became her heir, and on the death of Charles' only son, his daughter Elizabeth Duchess of Orleans inherited such rights as her father had had in the succession to the English Throne. Elizabeth Duchess of Orleans was born in the year 1652, and when the Act of Succession was passed she was a woman of forty-nine with children and grandchildren, whose rights were thereby superseded, and it is therefore necessary that I should say a few words of her and her descendants.

Elizabeth of the Palatinate is to my thinking one of the most original and interesting personages of her time. When she was a child she was placed under the charge of her aunt Sophia, afterwards Electress of Hanover, and on the marriage of Sophia, her niece accompanied her to Hanover and remained under her charge for several years. The result was that a strong and lasting friendship was established between these two very remarkable women. In 1671, when Elizabeth was nineteen, it was arranged that she should marry the Duke of Orleans, who had been previously married to her father's cousin, Henrietta Stuart, daughter of King Charles I. It was required as a preliminary that she should embrace the Catholic religion, and though her father, the Elector Charles, was by way of being a strong supporter of the Protestant cause, not the smallest difficulty was raised on this point either by him or by Elizabeth herself. Indeed it would seem that her aunt Sophia had taken in regard to her niece the course which she afterwards frankly took with regard to her own daughter, and had brought her up without religious pre-

possessions of any kind, in order that she might the more easily adapt herself to the religious opinions, if any, of her husband. Accordingly, on one and the same day, Elizabeth renounced the Protestant religion, was received into and communicated in the Catholic Church, and was married by proxy to the Duke of Orleans. She ever afterwards conformed to the outward ceremonial of her new religion, though it is obvious from her letters that she believed in nothing in particular, except possibly in the dignity of her own genealogy. At the date of the marriage her husband was thirty-one.

At the Court of France the Duchess of Orleans, who is always called "Madame," was, if I may be permitted to use the expression, somewhat of an "outsider." Nevertheless it is to her that we owe much of the secret history of what went on. She wrote her own memoirs, and she spent a large portion of her time in writing enormously long letters to her female relatives and friends, devoting each day of the week to a separate correspondent. In these letters she discusses the Court affairs with the utmost freedom, although she was perfectly well aware that they were always opened and read by the agents of the King, if not by the King himself. Thus in one of her letters she says, "It is quite a shame how long they keep our letters. In the time of Monsieur Louvois we know they always read them, as well as now, but they nevertheless delivered them in decent time. Torcy keeps them an uncommonly long time, and I feel it severely now I am so anxious about my aunt." Her language and descriptions were coarse to the verge, and sometimes beyond the verge, of indecency, but there is a straightforward shrewdness and common sense about all she says which make her writings very interesting. Speaking of herself, she says, "I am unquestionably very ugly ; I have no features, my eyes are small, my nose is short and thick, my lips long and flat ; these do not constitute much of a physiognomy. I have great hanging cheeks and a large face ; my stature is short and stout, my body and my thighs, too, are short, and upon the whole, I am truly a very ugly little object. If I had not a

good heart, no one could endure me. To know whether my eyes give token of my possessing wit, they must be examined with a microscope, or it would be difficult to judge. Hands more ugly than mine are perhaps not to be found in the whole globe. The King has often told me so, and made me laugh at it heartily; for not being able to flatter myself that I possess any one thing which could be called pretty, I resolve to be the first to laugh at my own ugliness. This has succeeded as well as could be wished, and I must confess that I am seldom at a loss for something to laugh at."

This description was fairly accurate, and as the Duchess indulged in most eccentric toilettes, her charms were not added to by any advantages of dress. Nevertheless, though she never pretended to or obtained any political influence she won the respect of the whole Court. The King Louis XIV., to whom she was nearly the only person who spoke the truth, was fond of and kind to her, and often sought her society, and she sincerely returned his affection. Her husband, of whose vices and follies she speaks with brutal plainness, nevertheless dwelt with her on very friendly terms. For her stepdaughters, the Queens of Spain and Sardinia, the daughters of Henrietta of England, and her own daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine, she had a great affection. She was very amiable to her son, both during the lifetime of his uncle, Louis XIV., and after he had himself become Regent of France, though she never entirely forgave him what she considered his derogatory marriage, and with all her own relations, and in particular with her aunts Louisa and Sophia, she was always on terms of the closest and most intimate affection. The two strongest sentiments of Elizabeth's life, however,—sentiments which were somewhat connected, were her hatred for Madame de Maintenon, and her passion for what she considered pure and untainted family descent. She was unable to forgive the obscure widow of the poet Scarron for having induced the greatest King in Europe to marry her, though she was perfectly gracious to the King's mistresses; and she could and did tolerate the most flagrant immorality

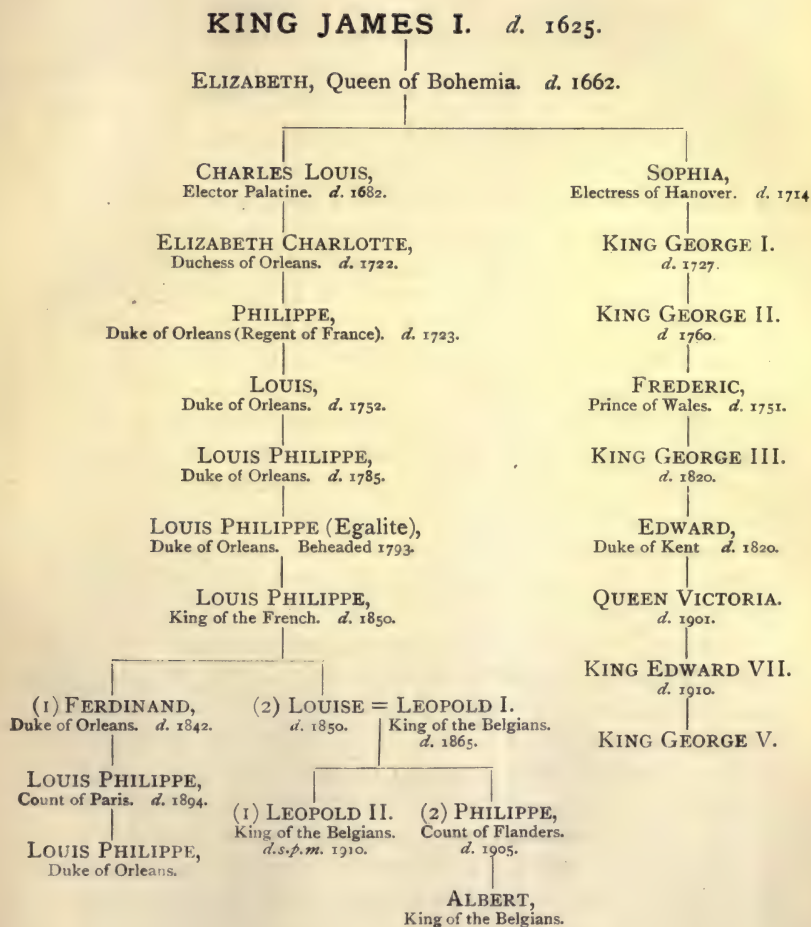
on the part of her relatives, so long as they did not contaminate her by intermarrying with persons of less exalted descent. Thus when the King forced her son, afterwards Regent and then a mere boy, into marrying the King's own natural daughter, Mademoiselle de Blois, notwithstanding the advantages of the marriage, "Madame" did not conceal her rage, and when she met the youth for the first time after he had given his reluctant assent to the marriage, she slapped him in the face before the whole Court. Nevertheless, in later years when the Regent in the height of his power made himself notorious and infamous throughout Europe by his foul debauchery, his mother appears to have accepted his behaviour as an eccentricity of rank. Again when her granddaughter, the Duchess de Berri, daughter of the Regent, and widow of Louis XIV.'s youngest grandson, outraged such small sense of decency as remained in Paris by the open depravity of her conduct, "Madame" looked on with stolid philosophy; but when before her death Madame de Berri, in an access of remorse, actually *married* Riom, her latest lover, her grandmother's indignation knew no bounds.

The Duke of Orleans, Elizabeth's husband, died of apoplexy on the 8th of June 1701, in his sixty-first year, and his wife, who survived him for twenty-one years, died on the 28th of December 1722, in her seventy-first year. They had three children, a son who died as an infant, Philip, afterwards the Regent, Duke of Orleans, born 1664, and Elizabeth, who married Leopold Duke of Lorraine.

Inasmuch as the descendants of Elizabeth Duchess of Orleans are even more numerous than those of Anne Queen of Sardinia, and may at the present day be counted by hundreds, it would be impossible to trace them all, and therefore, as in the case of Anne Queen of Sardinia I shall content myself with three of the more prominent lines.

The Regent Orleans after a disgraceful life died a miserable death a year after his mother in 1723. He was succeeded as Duke of Orleans by his eldest son Louis, who, by one of those startling contrasts to be found in the French Royal

TABLE XIX.



family, was a man of singular learning and piety, who, having for at any rate many years, led an exemplary life in the world, passed his closing years in a Monastery, where he led a life of extreme austerity. He died in 1752 and was succeeded by his son Louis, who was a soldier of some distinction, and also a very respectable man. He died in 1785. The son of this Prince, Louis Philippe, after leading a life of great dissipation in his youth, joined the popular party prior to the French Revolution, and was banished. When the Revolution actually broke out he came back to Paris, joined the national assembly, assumed the name of "Citizen Egalité," and voted for the execution of the King Louis XVI. I am happy to say that he was himself beheaded in 1793, and he probably was the most unpitied victim of the Revolution. His son Louis Philippe, after the deposition of Charles X. in 1830, became "King of the French," and reigned in France from that date till the third Revolution of 1848, when he was banished, and he died in England in 1850. Ferdinand, the eldest son of King Louis Philippe, was accidentally killed in his father's lifetime in 1842, and was the father of the Comte de Paris, who died in 1894, and whose son, styled Duke of Orleans, is now living, and is the representative of Elizabeth Duchess of Orleans. (See Table XIX.)

I should mention that Louise, eldest daughter of King Louis Philippe, married Leopold I. King of the Belgians, and was the mother of the late King Leopold II., and his brother Philip Count of Flanders, who died in 1905, leaving a son, who on the death of King Leopold II. without a son, succeeded to the Belgian Throne as Albert I., and through his grandmother claims descent from Elizabeth Duchess of Orleans.

Elizabeth Duchess of Lorraine, daughter of Elizabeth Duchess of Orleans, was the mother of the German Emperor Francis I., who died in 1765. Francis had two sons by his wife the Empress Maria Teresa, Queen of Hungary, viz: Joseph II., who died without male issue in 1790, and Leopold II., who died in 1792. Leopold II. was the father of Francis II., last of the ancient German Emperors and first Emperor

TABLE XX.

KING JAMES I. *d.* 1625.

ELIZABETH, Queen of Bohemia. *d.* 1662.

CHARLES LOUIS,
Elector Palatine. *d.* 1682.

SOPHIA,
Electress of Hanover. *d.* 1714.

ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE,
Duchess of Orleans. *d.* 1722.

KING GEORGE I.
d. 1727.

ELIZABETH,
Duchess of Lorraine. *d.* 1744.

KING GEORGE II.
d. 1760.

FRANCIS I.
German Emperor. *d.* 1765.

FREDERIC,
Prince of Wales. *d.* 1751.

LEOPOLD II.
German Emperor. *d.* 1792.

KING GEORGE III.
d. 1820.

(1) FRANCIS II.
(1st) Emperor of Austria.
d. 1835.

(2) LEOPOLD,
Duke of Tuscany. *d.* 1824.

EDWARD,
Duke of Kent. *d.* 1820.

ARCH DUKE
FRANCIS CHARLES
OF AUSTRIA.
d. 1878.

THERESA = CHARLES ALBERT,
d. 1855. King of Sardinia.

QUEEN VICTORIA.
d. 1901.

VICTOR EMMANUEL II.
King of Italy. *d.* 1878.

KING EDWARD VII.
d. 1910.

FRANCIS JOSEPH,
Emperor of Austria.

HUMBERT,
King of Italy. Assassinated 1900.

KING GEORGE V.

VICTOR EMMANUEL III.
King of Italy.



of Austria, who died in 1835. He was the grandfather of the present Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph I. (See Table XX.)

Ferdinand, second son of the German Emperor Leopold II., and great grandson of the Duchess of Lorraine, became Duke of Tuscany, and died in 1824; Teresa, daughter of this Prince, married Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. She died in 1855, and was the mother of the late Victor Emmanuel, first King of Italy, who was the grandfather of the present King of Italy. (See Table XX.)

From the foregoing statements it will be seen that, to say nothing of the descendants of Henrietta Duchess of Orleans, who was spoken of in a previous chapter, the Duke of Orleans, who claims to be the legitimate heir to the French Throne, and the present King of the Belgians (see Table XIX.), the present Emperor of Austria, and the present King of Italy (see Table XX.), are amongst the many persons who according to strict hereditary right (as it existed in England before the Act of Succession) would have a prior right to the English Throne than the reigning Sovereign. I need hardly repeat, however, that when George III. became King of England the English people forgot all about hereditary rights, and that since the accession of the late Queen Victoria all Englishmen have had cause to rejoice at the passing of a legislative enactment under which she was and his present Majesty is Sovereign of England. At the time the Act was passed, however, it was a subject of great bitterness.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE YOUNGER CHILDREN OF ELIZABETH QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.—PRINCESS ELIZABETH (ABBESS OF HERVOED).—PRINCE RUPERT (DUKE OF CUMBERLAND).—PRINCE MAURICE.—PRINCESS LOUISE (ABBESS OF MAUBISSON).—PRINCE EDWARD.—PRINCESS HENRIETTA (PRINCESS OF TRANSYLVANIA).—PRINCE PHILIP.—SOPHIA ELECTRESS OF HANOVER.

ELIZABETH, third child and eldest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, was born in 1618, and died unmarried in 1680 in her sixty-third year. She is said to have been the most learned Princess in Europe, and was held in high esteem by Leibnitz, Descartes, Mallebranche, and others of the leading philosophers of her time, and she was also very religious, and is said by one of her biographers (see "Descendants of the Stuarts," by William Townend) to have a special claim to the homage of Englishmen in that "she manfully fought the battle of the Protestant faith." The same writer says: "Perhaps a Roman Catholic was the only Christian she felt an instinctive repugnance to"; and I must admit that the Catholics she met during the Thirty Years War were somewhat unfavourable specimens. She was, however, truly Catholic in her regard for all kinds of Protestants, and had a special leaning towards the Quakers, with whose founder Penn she was, by correspondence at any rate, on intimate terms. As a girl various offers of marriage were made to her, but they all fell through, chiefly on account of her poverty; but in one case, that of Ladislas King of Poland, on account of her objection to marry a Catholic, and it is greatly to her credit that she should have declined a very

advantageous marriage entirely on conscientious grounds. After the restoration of her brother Charles to the Palatine Electorate she went to live with him at Heidelberg, where she quarrelled with him not a little. The Princess, however, showed the real strength of her principles, by taking the part of the much ill used Electress Charlotte, whom she assisted to escape; whereas her more illustrious sister Sophia seems rather to have taken the part of her brother. Elizabeth went with the Electress to Hesse Cassel, where she remained for some years. She afterwards, about 1661, entered a Protestant Convent at Hervoeden, or Hervoed, of which she was afterwards elected Abbess. There she spent the last fourteen years of her life, and there she died. As Abbess of Hervoed, she was styled Princess and Prelatess of the Holy Roman Empire, and she exercised Sovereign rights over a small territory with a population of about 7000 persons. In 1803 the Abbey was secularised, and in 1815 it was absorbed into the Kingdom of Prussia (see "A Sister of Prince Rupert," by E. Godfrey).

Prince Rupert, the fourth child of the Queen of Bohemia, has made himself a great name in English History, and his history is probably familiar to most of my readers. He was born at Prague on the 26th of November 1619, and on the 6th of June 1621 was born his brother Maurice, whose fate is so intimately connected with that of Rupert that I may deal with them both at the same time.

At a very early age Prince Rupert developed a very unruly and headstrong disposition, and he was only thirteen when he was allowed to take an active part at the Siege of Rhynberg in 1632. Some years later he was taken prisoner, and he was for three years a captive in the hands of the Imperialists. On the breaking out of the Civil War in England, in 1642 Rupert and his brother Maurice, then young men of twenty-three and twenty-one, hastened to England, where they were received with effusion by their mother's brother King Charles I., who gave them important commands and treated them with a favour which caused

some discontent on the part of the King's English followers. They both, but Rupert in particular, displayed an extraordinary personal bravery, and Rupert is commonly spoken of as a great general. I think, however, that, with all his gallantry, he had little military perception, and in the long run his rashness and want of discipline did more harm than good to his uncle's cause, for it is generally admitted that it was mainly owing to his impetuosity that the battles of Edge Hill and Marston Moor were lost. The disastrous surrender of Bristol by Rupert in 1645 has never been satisfactorily explained. It gave rise to some suspicion of his loyalty, and though the King expressly exonerated him from this charge, Rupert, unable to bear any blame of any sort, obtained leave to quit the Royal service, and accompanied by his brother Maurice he left England in 1645. In 1648 Rupert was put in command of that part of the English fleet which had declared for the King, and for some years he distinguished himself as a brave naval commander, taking part in several brilliant, though not very productive, engagements. He was always accompanied by Prince Maurice, and in 1651, on an expedition to Madeira undertaken in the hope of intercepting the Spanish fleet, the ship of which Maurice was the commander was wrecked, and that Prince was drowned in his thirtieth year. Prince Maurice never married.

Rupert returned to Europe in 1653, and on his return he immediately quarrelled with King Charles II., and from that date till after the Restoration he took no part in public affairs. In 1662, however, he was invited to go to England, and two years later he was created Duke of Cumberland. On the breaking out of the Dutch War, in the following year, he distinguished himself as a naval commander very greatly, and indeed he seems to have shown greater ability in naval than in military matters. When his cousin the Duke of York, afterwards James II., was disqualified by the Test Act from holding the office of Lord High Admiral, Rupert in 1673 succeeded him in that office, and in that year he gained a most brilliant victory over the Dutch fleet. This, however,

concluded his public services. In 1668 he had been appointed Governor of Windsor Castle, to which he retired, and he devoted the rest of his life to scientific and mechanical pursuits, for which he had a considerable aptitude, and he is said to have discovered the art of printing in mezzotint. He was also much interested in the extension of the British Colonies; and the latter part of his life was as useful and well regulated in peaceful pursuits as the early part had been brilliant and ill-disciplined in war. Prince Rupert, after the Restoration, practically identified himself with the English nation, and he was in fact naturalized in England in 1644. Therefore we have a right to claim him as an Englishman, and, *as* an Englishman, we have every reason to be very proud of him, notwithstanding some indiscretions of his early youth. About two years before his death, his elder brother, the Elector Charles, despairing of an heir to his only son, who was childless, invited his brother Rupert to return to the Palatinate and settle there as presumptive heir, but this proposal Rupert, who frankly detested his brother, declined with abruptness and not much courtesy. Prince Rupert died in London in 1682, two years before his brother Charles, and between two or three years before King Charles II., and he is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Prince Rupert never took any part in political, as distinguished from military and naval, affairs; he never married, and like most of the Princes of his time, he was very irregular in his private life. He had just completed his sixty-third year when he died on the 9th of November 1682.

Louise, sixth child and second daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, was born on the 17th of April 1622, and died unmarried on the 11th of February 1709 in her eighty-seventh year. In her youth she was the constant companion of her mother, but in the year 1657, when she was thirty-five, she caused great distress to that Princess by suddenly declaring herself a Catholic. Knowing beforehand the opposition she would meet, she left her mother's Court privately, and went first to Antwerp and then to France where she was received

with open arms by the French Court. In 1660 she became a nun in the Abbey of Maubisson, and four years later she was elected Abbess, an office which she held till her death. A great many sneers have been indulged in by a great many writers at the expense of this Princess, who has been represented as having been a very abandoned woman. She was in any case a somewhat remarkable one. She kept up till her death a strong interest in literary matters—obtained considerable distinction as a painter, and maintained throughout her life the closest intimacy and friendship both with her sister Sophia and her niece, the Duchess of Orleans. The latter suggests in a passage in one of her letters (which is often quoted) that the Abbess Louise was a woman of very immoral life, and had been the mother of many children. It is, however, certain that whatever may have been the Abbess' faults, they did not lessen the regard felt for her by her niece, and as against the passage above referred to, I will set off another passage written by the Duchess shortly before her aunt's death. She says: "I visited my aunt, the Abbess of Maubisson. She is well; better humoured, more lively, sees, hears, and walks better than I do. She is now painting a beautiful piece for our dear Electress of Hanover. It is a copy of the 'Golden Calf' by Poussin. She is adored by her Cloister; she leads a very strict, as well as a very quiet life. She never tastes meat, except in illness, sleeps upon mattresses as hard as a stone, and rises at midnight for the Convent Prayers. She has no chairs but straw ones in her room. I hope my aunt the Electress will be like her sister who, this April, is turned of eighty, and still is able to read the smallest print without spectacles; has all her teeth complete, walks better than myself, is always cheerful, and quite full of fun like my father, the Elector Palatine, when he was in a good humour."

The funeral sermon of the Abbess Louise was preached by the great Bossuet, in terms of the most enthusiastic eulogy, and though no doubt French preachers were accustomed to gloss over the frailties of Royal persons, I do not think

Bossuet could possibly, preaching in the later years of Louis XIV., have spoken as he did, if the life of the Abbess had at any time after she became a nun been known to have been scandalous. It is impossible to suppose, having regard to the undoubted virtue of the Queen of Bohemia, that her daughter Louise, who was her constant companion, led an immoral life *before* she left the Hague in 1657, nor indeed is there the faintest hint of anything of the kind. There remains, therefore, only the interval between the autumn of 1657, when Louise quitted her mother's Court, and March 1660, when she was professed a nun, and during the greater part of that time she was living in the admittedly strict Convent of Chaillot. Moreover, her mother, in her letters, while deploring her daughter's change of faith, expresses the greatest indignation at certain calumnies which had been spread about affecting the Princess' personal character. Under these circumstances I am inclined to treat the aspersions on the Abbess' character as untrue. Louise was living when the Act of Succession was passed, by which as a Catholic she was excluded from the English Throne.

Louis, the seventh child of the Queen of Bohemia, died as an infant.

Edward, the eighth, was born in October 1624, and was educated in Paris, where, in 1645, he settled, and declared himself a Catholic. He was actuated in this it is said by his wish to marry the beautiful Anne de Gonzague, whom he *did* marry in that year, he being then twenty-one and the lady eight years older. Anne de Gonzague was the second of the three daughters of the Duke of Mantua and Nevers by the Princess Catherine of Lorraine, and was of very illustrious family. Their parents having died when they were young they were sent to France, where the two elder were somewhat notable persons. The youngest, Benedicta, became a nun and died young. Marie de Gonzague, the eldest sister, was the object of attachment to two very different persons, Gaston Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII., and the Marquis de Cinq Mars, that King's well known favourite, and both love affairs

involved her in some trouble. She was afterwards married first to Ladislas and after his death to his brother John Casimir, Kings of Poland, and her life was sufficiently stormy and eventful. Her sister Anne, who is reported to have been very beautiful, is said to have led in her youth a somewhat dissolute life, but after her marriage to Prince Edward in 1645 she reformed, and would seem to have been quite respectable in her later years. She is known in French History as the "Princess Palatine," and as the intimate friend of Anne of Austria she played a not inconsiderable part in the politics of her time, and her personality is probably well known to readers of French History. Prince Edward, who, apart from his wife, was in no way distinguished, died in Paris on the 13th of March 1663, in his thirty-ninth year, having had three daughters by Anne de Gonzague,—Louise, Anne and Benedicta. Louise married Louis Otto, Prince of Salms. Anne, who was a conspicuous person at the Court of Louis XIV., married the Duc d'Enghien, eldest son of the "great Condé," and in process of time became herself Princess de Condé; and Benedicta married John Duke of Hanover, who will be afterwards mentioned. The three daughters of Prince Edward were Catholics, and consequently they and their descendants were all excluded from the English Throne by the Act of Succession. They all had children, and at the present day their descendants are very numerous, and many of the Sovereigns in Europe and a great many noble families claim descent from one or other of them, but it would be extremely tedious and not very interesting to trace the pedigrees of these families in detail.

Henrietta, ninth child of the Queen of Bohemia, was born in 1625, and was married in 1650 to George Ragotsky, Prince of Siepenburg in Transylvania, but she died within three months of her marriage. The husband was rich, but the marriage was regarded as something of a *mésalliance* by the lady's friends. Nevertheless, the account of the straits to which they were put to raise the necessary trousseau is rather diverting (see "A Sister of Prince Rupert," by E. Godfrey).

Prince Philip, the tenth child, involved his mother in considerable trouble by stabbing a French Officer in a brawl in the streets of the Hague, for which offence he had to fly from Holland. He afterwards entered the French army, and was killed at the battle of Rhethol in 1655. He never married, and was twenty-eight when he died.

Charlotte, the eleventh child, died as an infant, and Gustavus, the thirteenth, died as a little boy.

Sophia, fifth daughter, and twelfth child of the Queen of Bohemia, was born at the Hague on the 16th of October 1630, four months and a half after the birth of her cousin, afterwards King Charles II. of England. She subsequently told Lord Dartmouth, Ambassador to her Court from Queen Anne, that she had greatly wished to marry this Prince, observing that if she had done so "all the miseries arising from another Roman Catholic marriage would have been avoided, and the fine family of which I have been the mother would have been his heirs." By the time, however, that Sophia was of marriageable age, she was not only absolutely without fortune, which would not have suited the impecunious and exiled King of England, but her mother was so poor that Sophia had, in the parlance of a lower rank in life, to "take a situation." She accordingly accepted the appointment of "State Governess" to her niece Elizabeth, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, only daughter of her eldest brother, the Elector Palatine, Charles Louis. She proceeded to Heidelberg where she lived for several years, until she married in the year 1658. Sophia, in her "Memoirs from 1630 till 1680," translated by Mr Forester, frankly says "she cannot remember the date of her marriage." She married Duke Ernest of Brunswick.

I suppose there *are* persons in England who really understand and carry in their minds the histories of the minor German Principalities, but I must honestly say I am not one of them and that I never met anyone who was. I will, however, endeavour as far as I can to explain Duke Ernest's position.

The family name of the Princes of Brunswick was Guelph, and it is needless to say that the origin of this great family is almost lost in the mists of antiquity, but at all events the family was directly descended in the male line from Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, and Matilda Plantagenet, eldest daughter of Henry II. of England. It was the practice of the Guelph Princes to subdivide their dominions amongst their numerous sons, and as the result of this process, and from other causes, the territories of the Princes of the surviving Guelph family had by the fifteenth century become reduced to two very small and quite distinct Duchies, the Duchy of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel (which represented the elder line of the Guelphs, and with which at present we have nothing to do) and the Duchy of Brunswick Luneburg. In the sixteenth century William Duke of Brunswick Luneburg had six sons; and as it was apparent to the meanest comprehension that if his dominions were divided between these sons the territories of each would be reduced almost to vanishing point, they determined to draw lots which should marry and succeed his father, the others agreeing to remain unmarried and go into the world as, so to speak, Princes Errant. The lot fell upon a younger son George, who, as his brothers loyally kept the agreement, duly became Duke of Brunswick Luneburg. Duke George, who died in 1641, left four sons,—Christian, George, John and the Ernest who afterwards became the husband of Sophia. On the death of Duke George a somewhat complicated family arrangement was entered into, which does not appear even at the time to have been very well understood, by virtue of which the Duchy of Brunswick Luneburg was subdivided into two still smaller Duchies, the Duchy of Zelle, of which Christian, the eldest son of Duke George, became Duke, and the Duchy of Hanover, which though it was the smaller contained the important town of Hanover. This town afterwards gave its name first to the Electorate and then to the Kingdom, into which the whole Duchy of Brunswick Luneburg was ultimately erected.

George, the second son of Duke George, became Duke of Hanover, and the two younger brothers (who were styled the Dukes John and Ernest of Brunswick) were left unprovided for, and dependent on the generosity of their elder brothers, though Ernest had a kind of reversionary provision made for him. By the treaty of Westphalia, the Bishopric of Osnaburg was, on the death of the then Bishop (who was a Catholic), to pass to a Protestant, who, though he was to be styled "Bishop" and to receive the revenues of the See, was not, it would appear, under any obligation to take orders; and at the date of his marriage with Sophia, Duke Ernest had already been appointed "Coadjutor" of Osnaburg with a right of succession to the Bishopric, whenever the existing Bishop should die.

Prior to Sophia's marriage the people of Brunswick Luneburg had become very uneasy lest their own line of Princes should become extinct, and their Duchy should pass to the elder line of Brunswick Wolfenbittel. The Duke Christian of Zelle had been married for a long time, and had had no child, and his three brothers were unmarried. They accordingly importuned the second brother George Duke of Hanover to marry; and that Prince somewhat reluctantly proceeded to Heidelberg, where he saw and proposed to and was immediately accepted by the Princess Sophia. He then went to Venice, and to quote Sophia herself, "plunged into the dissipations of Venice, he ceased to think of her and began to repent the promise which bound him by word and deed to her." In this difficulty a brilliant idea occurred to Duke George, namely, that he should give a solemn undertaking not to marry at all, and that his youngest and favourite brother Ernest should be substituted for himself as Sophia's husband. This project being submitted to Sophia, she, to quote her own words, replied, "That a good establishment was all she cared for, and that if this was secured to her by the younger brother, the exchange would be to her a matter of indifference." The only person who *did* object was Duke John, the third brother, who suggested that *he*, and not Ernest,

should be substituted for Duke George, a suggestion which so enraged Duke George "that he drove John with considerable rudeness" out of the Palace where he was staying. In point of fact the proposed arrangement did not seem to be a bad one for Sophia, for Duke Christian having and being likely to have no family, Duke George promising not to marry and Duke John being in the opinion of his family (an opinion which events proved was erroneous) "too stout ever to have any family" (see "Sophia's Memoirs"), Ernest seemed likely to become, as after some vicissitudes he *did* actually become, the ultimate heir of the whole family. Moreover there was always the unfortunate Bishopric of Osnaburg to fall back upon in case of the worst.

It does not appear what was the precise age of Duke Ernest when he married, but he was certainly a young man, and a brave and distinguished soldier. Ernest and Sophia were married in the autumn of 1658, Sophia being at the time in her twenty-eighth year, and notwithstanding the somewhat unromantic circumstances of their wooing, and the somewhat pronounced infidelities in which Duke Ernest subsequently indulged, we have Sophia's own assurances that they became and remained very fond of one another for many years.

In 1662 the old Bishop of Osnaburg died and Duke Ernest was solemnly inducted into his new office, but Sophia, not having been as she says "a necessary appendage in this Ecclesiastical ceremony," was not present on the occasion.

In 1665 the eldest brother, Duke Christian of Zelle, died without issue, and thereupon Duke John, the third brother, in breach, as it was thought by Duke George, of the family compact, seized upon the Duchy of Zelle, and a civil war seemed to be impending. A compromise was however ultimately effected by which Duke George, now the eldest brother and formerly Duke of Hanover, became Duke of Zelle, and Duke John became Duke of Hanover—Ernest remaining Bishop of Osnaburg. I may here mention that Duke John, who became a Catholic in 1657, married in 1668

Sophia's niece Benedicta, who was the daughter of her brother Edward already spoken of. The Duke and Duchess John and Benedicta of Hanover had no son but they had several daughters, one of whom married the German Emperor Joseph I., and from these ladies a great number of Royal and noble families are descended. Their history however does not affect Sophia or her descendants. In 1680 Duke John of Hanover died without male issue, and Sophia's husband became Duke of Hanover, his brother Duke George remaining Duke of Zelle; and in 1692 Ernest succeeded in getting the Duchy of Hanover converted into an Electorate. There had been since 1208 seven "Electors" (that is Princes who had the right to elect the German Emperor), to whom an eighth had been lately added. The Elector of Hanover was the ninth, but Duke Ernest's Electorate was in fact merely nominal, for his brother Electors denied the Emperor's right to increase the Electorate without their consent; and it was not until 1708, long after the death of the Elector Ernest, that the Elector of Hanover was allowed to vote or take any practical part in the proceedings of the Electoral College.

Duke George, who was first Duke of Hanover and then Duke of Zelle, had, as we have seen, solemnly promised not to marry. He did, however, in fact marry in 1665 a beautiful French woman, Eleanor d'Olbreuse, but the marriage was *morganatic*, that is to say, though it was a legal marriage the lady, as being of inferior rank, was not allowed to assume her husband's title, and the children could not take Princely rank, and were ineligible to succeed to such Sovereign rights as their father possessed. Of this marriage there were four children, of whom three died as infants, and the fourth, Sophia, was afterwards the wife of George I. of England. From the moment of his marriage Duke George of Zelle and his wife (who was styled the Baroness von Harburg) strained every nerve to get the marriage recognised by the Emperor as a regular and not as a morganatic marriage, and in this they were ultimately successful, though with much difficulty and with the important limitation below mentioned. The

Baroness von Harburg became Duchess of Zelle, and her daughter was allowed to assume the rank of a Princess on the condition, but *only* on the condition, that she should marry a Prince of the house of Brunswick. In point of fact, the brothers Duke Ernest of Hanover and Duke George of Zelle, who, notwithstanding some lively quarrels were much attached to one another, were earnestly desirous of effecting a marriage between Prince George, the eldest son of Ernest, and the young Sophia ; and it was with a view to this alliance that Duke Ernest was induced to assent to the recognition of his brother's marriage. This marriage between George and Sophia was at first strongly opposed by the Duchesses of Hanover and Zelle. The Duchess Sophia looked down on the Duchess of Zelle as a woman of inferior rank who had been at first only a morganatic wife, and the Duchess Eleanor had received too many slights from her husband's family to be willing to throw her daughter into the midst of them, and she would greatly have preferred to marry her daughter to a Prince of Brunswick, Wolfenbuttel, who it is said was an eager suitor. The proposed marriage between George and Sophia however offered so many obvious advantages to both sides as to make prolonged opposition impossible, and ultimately the Duchesses, not very graciously, gave their reluctant consent. By marrying Prince George, Sophia of Zelle would not only secure her Princely rank, which was urgently desired by her parents, but she would become the wife of a Prince destined to become the head of her father's illustrious family (which was already rapidly advancing in political power and influence), and to unite in himself the Duchies of Zelle and Hanover. On the other hand the Duke of Zelle was a very rich man, and his daughter as the heiress of his private fortune would bring to her husband not only a large fortune in money, but certain private estates which he had acquired, and the permanent addition of which to the territories of Brunswick Luneburg was regarded by Duke Ernest and his wife as a matter of some moment. The marriage between George and Sophia

of Zelle—one of the most unfortunate on record—was solemnised on the 26th of November 1682, and to this marriage I must return again in speaking of George I. and his wife. The Duke of Zelle died in 1705, whereupon his nephew George I. succeeded to his dominions. His wife the Duchess Eleanor survived until 1721.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA (*continued*).—HER YOUNGER SONS.—HER DAUGHTER SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

THE Elector Ernest of Hanover died on the 20th of January 1698, and was succeeded in the Electorate, and also in his Duchy of Hanover, by his eldest son George, who on the death of his uncle George had already become Duke of Zelle; and thus George, afterwards King George I. of England, united in himself the whole Duchy of Brunswick Luneburg. George I. and George II. remained Electors of Hanover after they had become British Sovereigns, but, as is well known, in 1814 the Electorate was erected into a Kingdom (of which George III. became first King), as part of the treaty signed by the allied Sovereigns after their entry into Paris. The new Kingdom however was, it was specially provided, to descend only in the male line. George III. was succeeded as King of Hanover by his sons George IV. and William IV., but on the death of William IV., when the Crown of England passed to his niece, her late Majesty Queen Victoria, the Crown of Hanover passed to Prince Ernest Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of George III., who became Ernest I., King of Hanover. To him I must return later.

The Electress Sophia survived her husband for more than sixteen years. By the Act of Succession passed in 1701, she was declared heiress to the Throne of Great Britain, and her position became at once one of the greatest political importance. She died suddenly on the 8th of June 1714 in her eighty-fourth year, and if she had lived thirty-eight days longer she would have become Queen of England on the

death of Queen Anne, on the 1st of August in the same year. The Electress Sophia is buried at Hanover.

Beyond all doubt, Sophia was a very remarkable woman, both physically and mentally, and she possessed many fine qualities, but she was not, to my thinking, a very sympathetic or altogether a very estimable woman. In person she was tall and stately, with handsome, but rather pronounced features, and her physical strength and perfect health were remarkable. The Duchess of Orleans, writing of Sophia's sister, the Abbess Louise, expresses in a passage already quoted the hope that the "dear Electress" may be like the description she gives of the Abbess in her old age; and physically, at all events, the hope was gratified, for down to the last moment of her life the Electress gave not the smallest sign of failure. A year before her death she had received the Czar of Russia, and danced with him the Polonaise; and the whole world was genuinely amazed at the accounts given of her uprightness of carriage and the dignity and grace of her movements. She died quite suddenly as she was walking in her garden. Her mental powers were singularly keen and clear; she was well read, and she took the greatest pleasure in discussing with her friend and constant correspondent, the distinguished Leibnitz, the philosophical and political questions which agitated Europe in her time. Sophia was an artist of no mean capacity, passionately fond of music, and a liberal patroness of literature and art of every description. Her passion to see everybody and everything of the smallest interest or distinction was insatiable, and was maintained till the very last. Her sense of humour was strong, her wit brilliant, and her descriptions of the men and women whom she met are exceedingly amusing, and fully justify her reputation of having been one of the most brilliant conversationalists of her time. Lastly, her temper was uniformly easy and good natured.

On the other hand Sophia was what would now be called an absolute agnostic. She believed in nothing and no one; and this state of mind, coupled with her strong sense of the

ludicrous, seems to have produced a sort of cynical hardness which is not attractive, and notwithstanding her uniform good nature, and the fact that she had many and constant friends, I think it is impossible to resist the belief that she was naturally cold-hearted. She was at first very fond of her husband, though her affection by no means prevented her from being fully alive to his faults, or to the absurd aspects under which he and his brothers occasionally presented themselves. Never a very faithful husband, Duke Ernest, some years after his marriage, fell completely under the influence of a mistress, Baroness von Platen, who in the long list of the mistresses of Royal and semi-Royal persons stands out conspicuous for her unrelieved wickedness, and who exercised a baneful influence over every member of the Electoral family. I cannot help thinking that if Sophia had chosen, she might have held her own against this woman, and saved her husband from much degradation and the commission of many crimes, but she disdained the contest, and almost at the first attack she retired to her own Palace at Herrenhausen, and there contented herself with turning the whole affair into gentle ridicule. Indeed she seems to have regarded men in general, and Princes in particular, as rather contemptible creatures, whom it was desirable to keep in good humour, but who were hardly accountable for their actions—who were more or less nasty in their tastes, and about whose vagaries it was not worth while for any sensible woman to put herself out of the way. Nevertheless, when the Elector grew old and sick, and had a return of his old affection for the wife of his youth, Sophia went back to him and exerted herself to amuse him, with a most good humoured, if somewhat contemptuous, kindness.

It is said that Sophia did not like her eldest son George, but I do not find any evidence of anything approaching to dislike. On the contrary, it would seem that she treated George and her other sons much as she did her husband, with a good deal of kindness, but as somewhat irresponsible beings, over whose proceedings she had no control, over

whom she had no influence, and in whose private concerns she had no particular interest. Her affections, such as they were, were given almost exclusively to the women of her own family, and in particular to her niece, the eccentric Duchess of Orleans already spoken of, her own daughter afterwards the Queen of Prussia, and in her old age to Caroline the wife of her grandson, afterwards George II. of England. In her daughter, from the moment of her birth, the chief interests and ambition of Sophia's life centred themselves. She was to be brought up as a model Princess, beautiful, learned, and accomplished; and she was to make a great match, by preference, and if possible, with the Dauphin, eldest son of Louis XIV. With this marriage in view, the Princess was educated without any religious bias of any kind so that she might be ready to turn Catholic, if she succeeded in gaining the Dauphin, or Protestant if, as happened, she had to fall back on a Protestant suitor. The Princess in the main realised her mother's wishes, and her sudden death on the 1st of February 1705 was the great grief of Sophia's life. Fortunately, however, her daughter's place in the Electress' affections was speedily taken by Caroline of Anspach, her granddaughter-in-law, a Princess whose qualities of mind and body fully realised the ideals of her aged relative.

The Electress Sophia has been greatly blamed for her conduct to her daughter-in-law Sophia of Zelle, but I think without reason. That she did not greatly like her daughter-in-law, whose parentage was an offence to her family pride, is probable; and it is also probable that she might easily have been more tender in her dealings with the forlorn and unhappy young woman who had married her son; but tenderness was not Sophia's strong point, and of actual injury or unkindness there is not the smallest reliable evidence. When the younger Sophia complained to her of the infidelities of her husband, the Electress told her such things must be expected, and that she had better make the best of her position. It was not a very sympathetic answer, but under the circumstances it was eminently practical; and

it may be remarked that precisely the same answer was given to the Princess by her own mother, the Duchess of Zelle, who was commonly extolled as a model of conjugal and maternal affection. This piece of advice is the worst thing definitely alleged against Sophia in her relations with her daughter-in-law, and it is at all events clear that the mother-in-law only counselled what she herself practised.

The Elector and Electress Ernest and Sophia had nine children, eight sons and one daughter. They were: (1) George, afterwards King George I., born the 28th of May 1660; (2) Frederic, born in 1661; (3) Maximilian, born between 1661 and 1668; (4 and 5) two twin sons, who were born between the same years, and who died as infants; (6) Charles, also born before 1668; (7) Sophia, afterwards Queen of Prussia, born October 2nd, 1668; (8) Christian, born 1669, and (9) Ernest, afterwards Bishop of Osnaburg, and Duke of York, born 1674.

Prince George was an undersized plain man, but his five younger brothers who grew up are said to have been tall, well grown and good looking men; and they were all very brave soldiers, having been sent out into the European battle-fields as mere lads and spent the better part of their lives in camps and campaigns. Frederic was killed in a skirmish against the Turks at Pristina, on the 1st of January 1690, at the age of twenty-nine. Maximilian the third, caused some trouble to his father by expressing a wish to revert to the original practice of the Guelphs as to the sub-division of the paternal property, whereas the Elector was anxious to consolidate his whole dominions in the hands of his eldest son. Maximilian's claims, however, were made short work of and he left home in disgust. He subsequently became a Catholic and entered the Imperial army, in which he attained to high rank, and he died unmarried in 1726, a year before his brother King George.

Prince Charles, the third of the five younger sons who grew up, fell in battle against the Turks on the last day of December 1690, and his next brother, Christian, was drowned

in the Danube fighting against the French in 1703. Ernest, the youngest, succeeded his father in the lay Bishopric of Osnaburg, and was created Duke of York and Albany on the accession of George I. He seems to have maintained friendly relations with his eldest brother to the last, and when King George was seized with apoplexy, and died on a journey into Hanover, he was actually on his road to the Bishop's Palace at Osnaburg, and his body was in fact carried there. The Duke of York survived King George I. two years, and died in 1728. None of Sophia's younger sons married, they none of them seem to have produced any great impression on their generation, and neither Maximilian nor Ernest, the only two who were living when George became King, ever, as far as I am aware, visited England, or played any part in English politics.

Sophia, or as she is commonly called "Sophia Charlotte," the only daughter of the Electress of Hanover, was born on the 2nd of October 1688, and she was married in her sixteenth year to the Electoral Prince Frederic, who shortly afterwards became Elector of Brandenburg, and who at that time was a widower, aged twenty-six, with an only daughter. As is well known, the Electorate of Brandenburg was in 1701 erected into the Kingdom of Prussia, of which Sophia's husband became King Frederic I., and Sophia Charlotte herself was the first Queen. It is said that in the negotiations for turning the Electorate into a Kingdom, Frederic was deeply indebted to the diplomatic talents of his wife and his wife's mother. Since the publication of Carlyle's "*History of Frederic the Great*," so many and such minute accounts have been written of the first three Kings of Prussia and their Courts that it would be almost an impertinence to offer any remarks in this work on a subject so thoroughly well known and thrashed out.

Frederic I. is supposed to have modelled himself and his Court on Louis XIV. and the Court of that Monarch; and, to be in the fashion, he is said to have kept a mistress, whom he did not personally want, but whom he regarded as a sort

of necessary appendage to a great King. The ceremonial observances at the Prussian Court were regulated in exact imitation of the Court of Versailles, and the King spent his whole time in a series of reviews, receptions and processions, so that it was sarcastically said, "he rose early in order to prolong his enjoyment of the kingly state, and kept up the state of a King as much in his smoking room and the Queen's apartments as at his levees and in the Council Chamber." On the other hand, Queen Sophia Charlotte was the most lively and least formal of women. Highly literary and accomplished, her delight was to be with literary men and artists, and her intense sense of the absurd, unsoftened by any feeling of reverence for anything or anybody (for she believed in nothing), had been sharpened to so fine a point that no one, and least of all her august husband, could escape the shafts of her ridicule. Discussing with Leibnitz his theory of atoms, he asked her if she could form any idea of the "infinitely little"? She answered, "Of course I can! What a superfluous question to ask the wife of Frederic I.!"—a *bon mot* more creditable to her wit than to her good taste. When she was dying she said, "Do not grieve for me, I shall satisfy my curiosity as to the principles of things which Leibnitz could never explain to me—on space—of the infinite—our being, and the consequences of our dissolution; and as the King, my husband, is fond of pageantry and empty shows, I prepare for him the pomp of my solemn funeral." Her funeral was, in fact, a splendid ceremony.

The foibles however of the first King and Queen of Prussia did not amalgamate badly, and between them they held a Court, which was at once magnificent and lively, and which was remembered with much regret under the brutal squalor in which their son King Frederic William I. subsequently rejoiced.

Queen Sophia Charlotte died in February 1705 in her thirty-seventh year. Her husband survived until 1713, when he was succeeded by their only child Frederic William I., who married his cousin Sophia Dorothea, only daughter of

his mother's brother George I. of England, to whom I must refer later.

After Queen Sophia's death Frederic I. married the Princess Sophia Louisa of Mecklenburg Schwerin by whom he had no child. This lady went mad, and during her husband's last illness she contrived to escape from her apartments, and in doing so she accidentally broke a pane of glass and cut herself severely. In this condition she rushed into the King's bedroom, and he, awakened by the apparition of a woman dressed in white and covered with blood, believed her to be the traditional spectre of the house of Brandenburg who is supposed to visit moribund Princes of that house and warn them of their approaching dissolution. The King was so much frightened that the shock is said to have been the immediate cause of his death.

CHAPTER XL.

GEORGE I.—GEORGE II.—SOPHIA OF ZELLE.

WITH the accession of George I. commenced the sixth dynasty (I do not include the short-lived dynasty of the Danes) which has ruled England since the time of Egbert. The Saxon line came practically to an end with Edward the Confessor in 1056. The four Norman Kings reigned from 1056 till 1154; the Plantagenets from the accession of Henry II. in 1154 till the death of Richard III. in 1485. The Tudors from 1485 till 1603, and the Stuarts may be said to have ended at the death of Anne in 1714. Strictly speaking, however, Mary II. and Anne would each of them, if her line had been perpetuated, have introduced into England a new reigning family; in the case of Mary, that of the Princes of Orange, and in the case of Anne, that of the reigning family of Denmark.

With the new dynasty began a new state of things. Under the Plantagenets the Sovereigns had reigned virtually in and through the power of the Barons; under the Tudors supreme power was concentrated in the hands of the Monarchs, who were in effect, if not in name, absolute Sovereigns; and with the accession of the Stuarts began the long struggles between the Kings and the people which reduced the former to the condition of constitutional Sovereigns.

When George I. became King that struggle had virtually ended, and thenceforward, though the Kings of England have exercised, and, I hope, will always exercise, great political and still greater social influence, their actual power has been extremely limited, and the progress of public events has been

less and less influenced by their personal characters. Consequently it will hardly be necessary for me in the few remaining pages of this work to refer, even in passing to the public events, military or civil, which have gravely affected the destinies of the Empire, and which are in themselves of surpassing interest.

George I. was born in Hanover on the 28th of May 1660. In his youth he was sent to England as, so it was supposed, a suitor for the hand of the Princess, afterwards Queen Anne, but the negotiations came to nothing. The reason commonly assigned is, that arriving in the midst of the disturbances of the Oates Plot, the Prince formed an unfavourable estimate of the stability of the Stuart dynasty, and was unwilling to throw in his lot with the Princes of that house. It has been suggested that the Princess Anne resented the coolness of her suitor, and that the dislike and jealousy with which she afterwards regarded the Hanoverian family was accentuated by some personal feeling.

George I. was thirty-seven when he became Elector of Hanover on his father's death in 1697, he was in his fifty-fifth year when he became King of England in 1714, and in his sixty-eighth year when he died of apoplexy in Hanover on the 11th of June 1727. His only son George, afterwards George II., was born in Hanover on the 30th of October 1683, and was in his twenty-eighth year, when he first came to England on the accession of his father. On that occasion he was created Prince of Wales, but in 1706 he had been created by Queen Anne, Duke of Cambridge. George II. was in his forty-fourth year when he became King in 1727, and was within five days of completing his seventy-seventh year when he died on the 25th of October 1760. Both these Princes have suffered in the estimation of English writers from causes over which they had no control. Both were, to speak plainly, under-sized and ugly men, ungracious, and somewhat uncouth in manner, much given to the perpetration of coarse speeches, and with little in their appearance or demeanour of that Royal dignity usually associated with

Sovereigns, and to which the English people had become accustomed in nearly all the preceding Kings and Queens of England. Both George I. and George II. were to all intents and purposes foreigners, German in their habits and tastes, strongly attached to their own country, and little inclined to accept the English nation at its own estimation. Though the English people had deliberately turned out the Stuarts and accepted the new Kings in their place, and though upon occasions of urgency, as in 1715 and 1745, the bulk of the nation deliberately endorsed their original decision, nevertheless there was an appreciable and influential body of persons who regarded the Stuart Princes as their lawful Kings. Moreover, even among those who acquiesced in the existing state of affairs, there was a wide-spread feeling of sentimental and romantic interest in the exiled family, which made many people willing to enjoy a joke at the expense of the reigning Sovereigns, though by no means willing to part with them. The age was a vicious one, and public morals were approaching to their lowest ebb, which they may be said to have reached at the time of the French Revolution, an event which seemed to shake the foundations of all things, and which led to a new departure for good or bad on lines and principles which had scarcely been imagined or heard of before. The age was, however, not only vicious, but pre-eminently coarse. The dignity and refinement, superficial though it was, which had to some extent disguised the vices of the preceding generation had given way to open and unveiled debauchery ; and it cannot be denied that under the first two Georges manners at their Courts had become disgustingly indecent. But if manners and speech at Court were coarse and often revolting, the nation in general was by no means behind hand ; and it would be difficult to imagine anything more filthy than some of the contemporary squibs and lampoons by which the Sovereigns and their families were held up to ridicule. In these days we have become, if not more moral, at least more refined ; and it seems to me that many modern writers, pleased with the superficial charm which they find in

the accounts of the Courts of the Stuarts and the Bourbons, and disgusted with the indecencies of the early Georgian reigns, have combined to make George I. and George II. the scapegoats of all the blame, which in reality attached to their time far more than to themselves. Of course it must be admitted that both these Kings were very immoral men, but I really cannot see that their immorality was made more criminal, as a number of writers seriously seem to think, by the fact that they were ugly little men, and that their taste in female beauty did not commend itself to English ideas.

In the flood of ridicule and blame, often too well deserved, which has been poured upon these unfortunate Kings, it seems to me that there is a danger of their very good, and even noble, qualities being overlooked.

In the first place, speaking of George I. and his mother, it would, in my opinion, be impossible to imagine conduct more straightforward, more dignified, or more honourable than was theirs from the first moment that the Hanoverian succession was proposed, until the death of Queen Anne. They neither sought for nor invited the succession, they accepted it when it was offered with dignity and composure, and during the period of thirteen years during which they were the acknowledged heirs to the Throne they intrigued with no one, they flattered no one, and they truckled to no one. They behaved to the reigning Sovereign (although they knew, and must have known, that she was personally opposed to their claims) with a courtesy and consideration which seem to me to have been the result of a truly honourable feeling. When Anne died George showed no sort of eagerness to seize the Crown of which he was the heir, but acted with the deliberation and composure of a person conferring rather than receiving a favour, and indeed this *was* the case. There is no reason to suppose that he particularly desired the English Throne; and on the other hand, to the bulk of the nation who sincerely desired a Protestant King, his refusal to accept the Crown would have been a crushing blow. Under these circumstances it seems to me ungenerous and inhospit-

able, having first invited a foreign Prince to reign over us for our own convenience, then to jeer at him because he *was* a foreigner, which he could not help being, and which, strange as it may appear, he would not have helped if he could. In truth, King George I. did not admire the English any more than they admired him !

As Kings, I do not think it is denied that George I. and George II. clearly understood their constitutional position, or that they ever endeavoured to materially exceed their powers ; and the worst that can or has been said against them is that they unduly favoured their native dominions in Germany and their Hanoverian subjects. This was surely natural, and, in a measure, praiseworthy. The English, when they invited a foreign reigning Prince to be their King, had no right to expect that he should forget or cease to love his native country and his original subjects ; and when they asked two men, one of them well on in middle age and the other in the prime of life, to live among them they ought to have been prepared for a considerable prepossession on the part of the new Kings in favour of their own countrymen. The substantial grounds of complaint on this head, however, were not in reality very grave.

No one has denied that both the Georges were in political matters honest and straightforward, and no one has denied that they were both of them gallant and distinguished soldiers. Indeed, the exploits of George II. at the Battle of Dettingen in 1743 would, in any other Sovereign, have raised him to a great height of military fame, though in George II. they are either passed over and forgotten or admitted with the most grudging praise. It is said with truth that George I. and his son lived on bad terms, but it is not very easy, at all events before the nineteenth century, to find instances of a Sovereign who has lived on good terms with a full grown heir to his Throne ; and on the whole I do not think that the father and son in their paternal and filial relations were any worse than a very great number of their neighbours. Lastly, there is the grave question of King George's relations

with his wife, in regard to which he has been assailed in terms of most unmeasured invective, and to which I must reluctantly refer at, I fear, some length.

I have already said that on the 21st of November 1682 George I. married his cousin Sophia, who was the daughter of his father's brother, Duke George of Zelle; and I have detailed the circumstances which led to this marriage in his twenty-third year, when Sophia, who was born on the 15th of September 1666, was nearly sixteen. There were two children of the marriage, George, afterwards George II. of England, who was born on the 30th of October 1683, and Sophia, commonly called Sophia Dorothea, afterwards Queen of Prussia, who was born on the 16th of March 1685. The marriage, at no time a happy one, turned out very ill, and after the birth of their daughter the Electoral Prince and Princess lived on openly bad terms, the Princess being extremely jealous of the conjugal infidelities of the Prince.

On the 1st of July 1694 the Elector Ernest was told by his mistress, Madame von Platen, that a certain Count Philip Königsmark, who had gained an evil reputation throughout Europe, and whom the Elector had previously ordered to leave Hanover, was in the apartments of his daughter-in-law, the Princess Sophia. The Elector thereupon ordered, or authorised von Platen to order, Königsmark's arrest. A small body of soldiers was placed outside the Princess' rooms, and when Königsmark came out he was seized and killed in the scuffle, either accidentally or by design. His body was concealed and not discovered till long afterwards. Various versions of the story are current, but Horace Walpole, who derived his information from his father, George II.'s great minister, Sir Robert Walpole, tells it thus:—

“Königsmark's vanity, the beauty of the Electoral Princess, and the neglect under which he found her, encouraged his presumption to make his addresses to her, not covertly, and she, though believed not to have transgressed her duty, did receive them too indiscreetly. The old Elector, inflamed at the insolence of so stigmatised a pretender, ordered him to

quit his dominions the next day. This Princess, surrounded by women too closely connected with her husband, and consequently enemies of the lady they injured, was persuaded by them to suffer the Count to kiss her hand before his abrupt departure; and he was actually introduced by them into her bedchamber the next morning before she rose. From that moment he disappeared, nor was it known what became of him, till on the death of George I., on his son, the new King's first journey to Hanover, some alterations in the palace being ordered by him, the body of Königsmark was discovered under the floor of the Electoral Princess' dressing-room—the Count having been probably strangled there the instant he left her, and his body secreted. The discovery was hushed up. George II., the son of Sophia Dorothea, entrusted the secret to his wife, Queen Caroline, who told it to my father, but the King was too tender of the honour of his mother to utter it to his mistress, nor did the Lady Suffolk ever hear of it till I informed her of it several years afterwards. The disappearance of the Count made his murder suspected, and various reports of the discovery of his body have of late years been spread, but not with the authentic circumstances." This account, no doubt, is in the main correct, but there is now a pretty general agreement on three points: first, that Prince George, who was out of the country, and his mother, the Electress Sophia, who was at Herrenhausen, were ignorant at the time of the attempted arrest, and, of course, of the murder of the Count; secondly, that the Elector Ernest, though he sanctioned the arrest, did *not* sanction the murder; and thirdly, that Count Königsmark was not present in the Princess' rooms at her invitation, but in consequence of a forged letter which had been sent to him. It is believed that this letter was written by the Baroness von Platen herself, who not only entertained a strong personal enmity to the Princess, but is said to have had a grudge against the Count, who is supposed to have rejected amatory overtures on her side.

After Königsmark's disappearance his papers were seized, including some letters from Sophia, and Baron von Platen

(husband of the Baroness) was deputed to investigate the matter. The Princess, with the appearance of sincerity, denied all improper conduct, and her denial appears to have been formally accepted by the Electoral family. Nevertheless Sophia, who had been wrought up to a point of intense exasperation, announced her intention to leave her husband. It is certain that, probably for political reasons, this resolution was, at any rate formally, opposed by George, her husband, and his father, and some pressure was apparently brought to bear upon her to remain at her husband's Court. She, however, stuck to her point, reiterating persistently the phrase, "If I am guilty, I am not worthy of him. If I am innocent, he is not worthy of me."

The matrimonial court of Hanover, which as far as appears was duly constituted, was summoned. The Princess was not accused of adultery or misconduct with any one; and Königsmark's name was never mentioned in the pleadings, but she *was* accused of "intentional desertion of her husband." The decree of the Court, which was pronounced on the 20th of December 1694, is in the following terms: "In the matrimonial suit of the illustrious Prince George Louis, Crown Prince of Hanover, against his consort, the illustrious Princess Sophia Dorothea, we, constituted President and Judges of the Matrimonial Court of the Electorate and Duchy of Brunswick Luneburg, declare and pronounce judgment, after attempts have been tried and have failed to settle the matter amicably, and in accordance with the documents and verbal declarations of the Princess and other detailed circumstances, we agree that her continued denial of matrimonial duty and cohabitation is well founded, and consequently that it is to be considered as an intentional desertion. In consequence whereof we consider, sentence and declare the ties of matrimony to be entirely absolved and annulled. Since in similar cases of desertion it has been permitted to the innocent party to remarry, which to the other is forbidden, the same judicial power will be exercised in the present instance in favour of his serene Highness the Crown Prince."

The Princess was offered the right to appeal, and refused ; and immediately afterwards she was sent to the Castle of Ahlden, where she was detained as a prisoner till her death on the 2nd of November 1726, about six months before the death of King George.

It is said that on her deathbed she wrote a letter summoning her husband to meet her at the judgment seat of God, and that the shock occasioned by the delivery of this letter caused the fit of apoplexy which killed the King.

Such is the outline of the known facts relating to one of the most tragic incidents in history. Of late years it has been the custom to condemn King George as the most inhuman monster, and to exalt his wife to the rank of a saint and martyr, but in both views I think there is great exaggeration.

It is commonly represented that Sophia, arriving almost as a child at the Court of Hanover, was treated from the first with neglect and contempt, not only by her husband but by his parents. Nothing of the kind, however, is established. There appears to have been no open quarrel between the Prince and Princess until after the birth of their daughter, that is to say for more than three years ; and there is abundant evidence to show that the old Elector regarded his daughter-in-law, who was also his niece, with considerable affection, and that the Crown Princess lived with her mother-in-law in apparent harmony.

It has been said that George "flaunted" his infidelity before his wife in a way that no woman of decency or spirit could have borne. He certainly kept a mistress Ermengarda von der Schulenburg, by whom he had a child, and this woman occupied a semi-official position at Court and was constantly meeting the Princess Sophia. This was very immoral ; and if it had happened in the present day, it would have been regarded as ungentlemanlike and disgraceful behaviour on the part of the Prince, fully justifying the strongest measures on the part of his wife. In the seventeenth century, however, such conduct on the part of Princes was the

rule and not the exception. Louis XIV. of France, the arbiter of fashion, had set the example ; and his wife Maria Theresa, though a Queen and the daughter of a King, accepted the position ; and in George's time that which he did was done by nine out of ten of the Princes in Europe, and that which Sophia suffered was suffered as a matter of course by nine out of ten of the ladies of the Royal caste. Why therefore should George be selected for special execration, or his wife for special commiseration ? Moreover George *did* to some extent conform to public decency. Before his marriage he had a mistress Madame von Busche, the sister of Madame von Platen, but when he married he sent von Busche away. It is said indeed that she lingered long enough to see from an upper window the arrival of the Crown Princess ; but she *did* go, and she did not come back till long afterwards, not until the birth of the Princess Sophia in 1685, and then it was not as the mistress of Prince George. Unfortunately, however, she brought with her von Schulenburg, who then and not till then appeared upon the scene.

It is said that George was guilty of personal cruelty to his wife, but it was also said that the Princess struck her husband. For neither story is there authentic evidence ; but there is a story tolerably well certified of Sophia's having forced her way into a pavilion reserved for von Schulenburg, whom she there surprised with the Prince, and it is said that upon that occasion a scene of unseemly violence took place. It is generally assumed that Sophia's relations with Königsmark were in fact innocent. This may have been so, but since the publication some years ago of "The Love of an Uncrowned Queen, Sophia Dorothea, Consort of George I.," by W. H. Wilkins, which contains much correspondence between Sophia and von Königsmark, I can hardly think any impartial person can believe it, and at any rate it must be admitted that her conduct in von Königsmark's regard was to the last degree imprudent.

Königsmark was a man of extraordinarily loose life, and it is clear that the Princess admitted him to a considerable

share of friendly intercourse, though this is excused on the ground that she had known him when she was a child at Zelle. It is tolerably certain that whatever may have been *her* views about *him*, his views upon her were *not* innocent; and that he had spoken of her not privately but publicly at the Court of Poland in terms which fully justified the old Elector in ordering the Count, as he did, to leave Hanover. Certainly under these circumstances the visit paid by the Count to the private apartments of the Princess in the absence of her husband was calculated to arouse strong suspicion. Mademoiselle von Knessebeck, Sophia's lady-in-waiting, a witness whose testimony appears to be reliable, while she asserted that Königsmark's visit was unexpected and that she herself was present during the whole interview, admitted that the interview was somewhat prolonged, and that the Princess had seized the opportunity to complain to Königsmark of her husband's behaviour, and to discuss with him plans which she had already formed for leaving Hanover. Moreover the witness admitted that Königsmark had offered to assist the Princess in this project, not indeed avowedly as her lover, but in a manner which, if it had been adopted, he and the Princess, who was no longer a child, must have been well aware would have seriously compromised her reputation. Such a conversation at such a time argued not only much indiscretion, but much previous intercourse of a familiar character (see Dr. Doran's "*Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover*").

Again, it is assumed that the judicial proceedings were a mere farce, and that Sophia, like another Katharine Howard, was the victim of an absolute Prince determined to destroy her; but the Elector Ernest was no autocrat, still less his son, and Sophia was by no means friendless. Her parents are said to have at one time loved her passionately, and the Duke of Zelle had considerable influence with the Emperor. Nevertheless not only Sophia herself but her father most formally and deliberately accepted the verdict of the Court. Immediately after the sentence of the Court, Sophia was removed to

the Castle of Ahlden, and there she was detained as a prisoner, or at all events she lived with all the appearance of being a prisoner for thirty years, during eighteen of which her husband was Elector of Hanover, and during twelve of which he was King of England. Sophia was not placed in the castle of Ahlden under any order of any Court ; and as far as appears she was detained there by the absolute will of her husband. The whole force of the English language has been exhausted in denouncing the cruelty and illegality of this imprisonment. In truth, however, it would have been *so* cruel and *so* illegal to detain the Princess as a prisoner merely because she refused to live with her husband, who was notoriously unfaithful, that startling as it may sound, I believe it would have been *impossible* if she and her friends had not practically acquiesced in her confinement.

George I. was as I have said no autocrat, and he was neither in theory nor in fact above the law. As a German Prince he was amenable to the German Emperor, and as an English King he was amenable to the English Parliament ; and even supposing that all justice and fair play had died out of the world he had a large number of enemies, personal and political, whose interest it would have been to bring him to account if it had been thought for his wife's advantage to do so. It is of course said that Sophia of Zelle was a woman crushed by her misfortunes, whose natural friends had turned against her, and who, kept a close prisoner in the hands of her enemies, was unable to make her voice heard. This however seems to me to be little short of nonsense.

In the first place, no incident is recorded in the life of Sophia of Zelle which would lead one to suppose that she was a woman easy to be crushed, or who would have submitted tamely to injustice which she could help. The whole world knew she was alive ; the whole world knew precisely where she was, for there never was the smallest mystery on the subject ; and even supposing her captivity to have been as strict as that of a condemned prisoner in the Bastille, there were plenty of people whose interest,

as well as whose duty, it was to procure her release if they could have made out a good case.

Her father survived her captivity for nine years and died in 1705. Her mother lived on till 1721. Her son, who was a boy of eleven when she was sent to Ahlden, had completed his majority before the first decade of her captivity had run out. George II. is said to have retained a kindly memory of his mother, and to have made unsuccessful attempts to see her, but why in the world did he not *insist* on seeing her? George I. was not an Eastern Satrap, before whom his son stood trembling for his life. On the contrary, it is well known that as Prince of Wales, George II. headed the opposition to his father's government, and had, and freely used, great political power.

Much contempt has been thrown upon the Duke of Zelle and upon George II., but I do not know that anyone has suggested that either of them was altogether destitute of natural affection; and at all events they were not destitute of family pride, and it cannot have been to the credit of either that the daughter of the one, and the mother of the other, should languish as a disgraced woman in a foreign prison. The Princes of the House of Brunswick Wolfenbützel claimed to be the heads of the Guelph family, and it is well known that they regarded the Princes of Hanover with much jealousy. One of the Princes of Brunswick Wolfenbützel had proposed to marry Sophia, and he is said to have been at one time much in love with her; and there were many other Princes in Europe to whom she must have been personally known, and to whom she was more or less related or connected. Nevertheless, no single man or woman of all Sophia's kindred ever made the smallest serious attempt to obtain her liberation, or uttered any word of real protest against her confinement. But Sophia's captivity was by no means strict. Not only the place of her residence, but every detail of her life was carefully arranged with the full concurrence of her own father. Her income was a large one, large enough at any rate to enable her to save a

considerable sum of money, which she had accumulated at her death, and, as she has been greatly commended for her charity to the poor, and her diligence and care in managing her property, her income must, to a great extent, have passed through her own hands. Her establishment was mounted in accordance with her rank, and in the Castle of Ahlden all the forms and observance of a miniature Court were duly kept up. She had her regular levees and receptions, at which her neighbours of sufficient rank were allowed to be present; and for many years at any rate she kept up a large correspondence. No doubt her children were not allowed to see her (though it is difficult to suppose that when they grew up, either the Prince of Wales or the Queen of Prussia could have been prevented from seeing her if they had really wished it); and no doubt her intercourse with the outside world was to some extent restrained. Under these circumstances is it really to be supposed that if Sophia had wished to state her case before the Emperor or before the English Parliament, she would have had any practical difficulty in doing so?

Again, in 1704 a French army invaded Hanover, and the Castle of Ahlden became for a time an unsafe residence. One would have expected to hear that Sophia was hurried off to some other dungeon, but in point of fact she was sent home to her father and mother, and stayed with them for a year. Horace Walpole indeed says "that they did implore, though in vain, that she might continue to reside with them." But why on earth did they not keep her, or why did she not run away? George, then Elector of Hanover, could hardly have sent an army to besiege his uncle and carry off his wife by force, and if he had done so all Europe would have rung with the scandal.

To my mind all the circumstances point to one irresistible conclusion. I believe that George I. was in a position to prove such conduct on the part of his wife as would have made it impossible for her to be recognised as Queen—that his family and relatives, and most of the Princes of Europe,

including Sophia herself and her parents, and including afterwards her children, were perfectly aware of this—and that they *all* shrank from the exposure. I believe that the whole matrimonial proceedings took the form they did by preconcerted arrangement, and to save the honour, not merely of Sophia herself, but of the whole family, and that it was part of the agreement come to, and acquiesced in by the Princess herself and her father, that she should live at Ahlden as she in fact did.

I cannot say that King George comes well out of the affair, for he was certainly a harsh and unfaithful husband, and might well have shown more gentleness and kindness than he did; but even in this matter I think it very possible that if Sophia had been willing to let bygones be bygones, after the death of Königsmark, George would have met her half way, and they might have gone on living together, not perhaps happily, but at least without open scandal, for the rest of their lives. Sophia was, in my opinion, a headstrong, impulsive, passionate and not very wise woman, and her husband was a cold, reserved and harsh man. Neither of them liked the other, and they both behaved badly; but I decline to accept the popular verdict that Sophia was an injured saint and George a kind of modern Bluebeard.

King George was buried in Hanover, and his wife at Zelle.

I may here mention that Ermengarda von der Schulenburg accompanied George I. to England, and was created Duchess of Kendal. She died in 1743. She had a daughter by the King, Melusina, who was created Countess of Walsingham, and who married the celebrated Philip Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, but had no child.

CHAPTER XLI.

SOPHIA DOROTHEA, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.—HER DESCENDANTS.—CAROLINE OF ANSPACH.—ANNE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.—HER DESCENDANTS.—PRINCESS AMELIA.—PRINCESS CAROLINE.—WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

SOPHIA Dorothea, only daughter of George I., was born on the 16th of March 1685, and was married, being in her twenty-second year, on the 28th of November 1706, to her cousin (the only son of her father's sister), Frederic William, Crown Prince of Prussia, who, on the death of his father in 1713, became King Frederic William I. Sophia's husband died in 1740, and his wife survived him for seventeen years, and died on the 9th of June 1757 in her seventy-third year. The late Mr. Carlyle in his history of "Frederic the Great," and many other writers, including Mons. Ernest Lavisse (translated by S. L. Simeon) in his book "The Youth of Frederic the Great," have recorded the events of the lives of Frederic William I. and his wife in such minute, and I must add repulsive, detail, that I feel myself relieved from entering on the subject here, and I do not intend to do so, all the more as it would be impossible to speak, even in the most cursory way, of the Court of Frederic William I. of Prussia without exceeding the very limited space left at my command.

Queen Sophia Dorothea of Prussia may be said to have been an English Princess, inasmuch as she was the daughter of a Prince who afterwards became King of England, but she never was in England in her life, and was a married woman

TABLE XXI.

KING GEORGE I.
d. 1727.

FREDERIC I.,
King of Prussia. *d.* 1713.
= SOPHIA CHARLOTTE (sister of King
George I.). *d.* 1705.

(1) **KING GEORGE II.**
d. 1760.

(2) **SOPHIA DOROTHEA = FREDERIC, WILLIAM I.**
King of Prussia. *d.* 1740.

FREDERIC,
Prince of Wales. *d.* 1751.

PRINCE WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA.

KING GEORGE III.
d. 1820

FREDERIC WILLIAM II. OF PRUSSIA
d. 1797.

EDWARD,
Duke of Kent. *d.* 1820

FREDERIC WILLIAM III. OF PRUSSIA.
d. 1840.

QUEEN VICTORIA.
d. 1901.

(1) **WILLIAM I.**
German Emperor.
d. 1888.

(2) **CHARLOTTE = NICHOLAS I.**
Emperor of Russia.
d. 1855.

(1) **KING EDWARD VII.**
d. 1910.

(2) **VICTORIA = FREDERIC III.**
German Emperor.
d. 1888.

ALEXANDER II.
Emperor of Russia.
Assassinated 1881.

KING GEORGE V.

ALEXANDER III.
Emperor of Russia.
d. 1894.

NICHOLAS II.
Emperor of Russia.

WILLIAM II.
German Emperor.

settled in Prussia for full eight years before her father became King. Sophia had I, believe, ten children.

I said in the commencement of this work that I proposed to give a short account of the personal history of the several Kings and Queens, of their children, and of such of their immediate descendants or relatives as have played any part in English History or have lived in England; but the children of Queen Sophia Dorothea of Prussia, and the children of other English Princesses to whom I shall refer later, though the immediate descendants of English Kings, did not play any part in English as distinguished from general European History, and did not live in England, and therefore they do not fall within the scope of this work. I may, however, say that Queen Sophia's eldest son became Frederic II., or Frederic the Great of Prussia, and was the first cousin of Frederic Prince of Wales, eldest son of George II. of England. Frederic II. died in 1786, and was succeeded by his nephew (the son of his next brother William) Frederic William II., who was the grandson of Frederic William and Queen Sophia Dorothea, and who was second cousin to King George III. Frederic William II. died in 1797, and was succeeded by his son Frederic William III. who died in 1840 leaving two sons, Frederic William and William. Frederic William became Frederic William IV. of Prussia, and died in 1860 without male issue, when he was succeeded by his brother William, who became King William I. of Prussia, and in 1871 was proclaimed German Emperor. The Emperor William died in the year 1888 (see Table XXI.). The Emperor William I. was not only distantly related to Queen Victoria through his father (by reason of their common descent from King George I.), but also more nearly related through his mother, Queen Louisa of Prussia. That Queen was the daughter of Charles Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz and niece of his sister Queen Charlotte, wife of George III. of England. Consequently she was the first cousin of the Duke of Kent, and her son the Emperor William I. was, through her, second cousin of Queen Victoria

(see Table XXII). It is needless to say that the Emperor William's son, the Emperor Frederic III., who died shortly after his father in 1888, had married Queen Victoria's eldest daughter (who died in 1901), and was the father of the present Emperor William II. who was consequently grandson and nephew of the late Sovereigns Queen Victoria and King Edward VII., and is first cousin to his present Majesty.

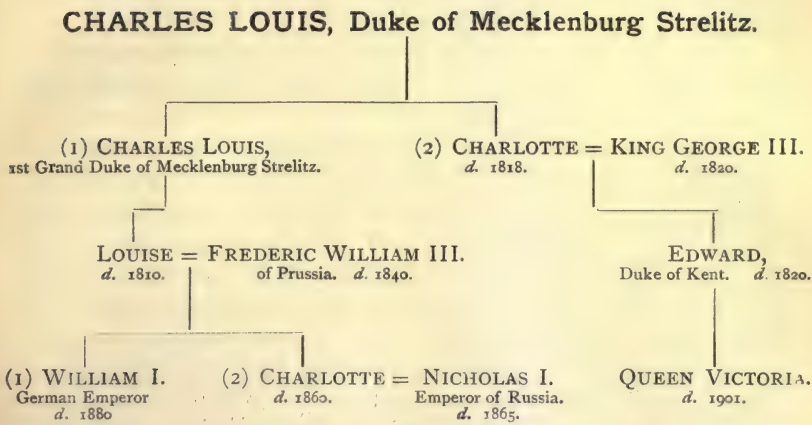
I may add that the Princess Charlotte of Prussia, sister of the Emperor William I., married the Emperor Nicholas I. of Russia, and was the great grandmother of the present Russian Emperor. Consequently the Emperor Nicholas II. of Russia, like the German Emperor William II. is descended from King George I. (See Table XXII.)

I have said all I think it necessary to say of King George II. Nor is it needful that I should speak in detail of his wife, Queen Caroline, for the writings of Horace Walpole, the Memoirs of Lord Hervey, and innumerable other books have made the life of this Queen, her virtues and her failings, the manners at her Court, and even the smallest incidents of her daily life (which are not, however, for the most part very edifying), familiar to all students of the history of the eighteenth century, and more or less familiar even to casual readers.

Caroline was the daughter of John Frederic Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, which was an exceedingly small German State. She was born in 1683, and was left an orphan at a very early age, when she was sent to the Court of Brandenburg, afterwards Prussia, where she was brought up under the care of Sophia, sister of George I. On the death of that Princess in January 1705, Caroline was transferred to the Court of the old Electress Sophia of Hanover, whose grandson, afterwards George II. of England, she married on the 22nd of August in that year, 1705. Caroline was a Princess entirely after the hearts of the two Sophias, the Queen of Prussia, and the Electress of Hanover. Handsome, clever, and eminently capable, she was at once patient

and ambitious. She was fond of literature if not literary herself. She had a strong sense of the ludicrous, no particular religion or sense of reverence for God or man, and she was extremely witty, and often, it is to be feared, extremely coarse in her conversation. "Virtuous," according to the technical use of that word, in her own life, she was absolutely tolerant to the vices of others, and though perfectly good-natured she appears to have been absolutely without softness or tenderness of any kind. From the moment of her marriage she took and maintained the upper hand with her husband, and from the time of her husband's accession to the Throne until her death, it is not perhaps too much to say that she was virtually Queen Regnant of England. Her power she exercised with wisdom and moderation, but she acquired it by the exercise of much duplicity. King George was neither a fool nor a particularly weak man, and he feared intensely the reputation of being ruled by his wife. Consequently it required all the tact of a very clever woman to avoid raising his suspicions. Caroline, however, succeeded in managing him without allowing him to suspect that he was being managed in a manner which is very diverting to read about, but which cannot be said to give one a high idea of the lady's moral tone. King George was notoriously an unfaithful husband, and the Queen accepted the position with that philosophy which had become fashionable in the eighteenth century. Probably, however, her philosophy was fortified by the knowledge that her husband liked and respected her infinitely more than any of his mistresses, or perhaps than all of them put together. Nevertheless the spectacle of a married man calmly discussing his love affairs with his own wife is not edifying, and with all her good sense, and personal virtue, Queen Caroline probably did as much to lower the tone of the century in which she lived as the most profligate woman of her age. She died on the 30th of November 1737, and her husband, who survived her for twenty-two years, died on the 26th of October 1760. They are both buried in Westminster Abbey.

TABLE XXII.



(See Table XXI.)

King George II. and his wife had nine children, of whom the four elder were born in Hanover and the five younger in England. They were : (1) Frederic, Prince of Wales, born 1707 ; (2) Anne, afterwards Princess of Orange, born 1709 ; (3) Amelia or Emily, born 1711 ; (4) Caroline, born 1713 ; (5) a son, who was born and died the same day in 1716, and who was not named ; (6) George, born in 1717, who was created Duke of Gloucester, and died in 1718 ; (7) William, afterwards Duke of Cumberland, born 1721 ; (8) Mary, afterwards Landgravine of Hesse Cassel, born 1723 ; and (9) Louisa, afterwards Queen of Denmark, born 1724.

Leaving aside for the present the Prince of Wales, I will speak of his younger sisters and brother who attained to maturity according to seniority.

In the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries there was a considerable dearth of Protestant Princes in Europe of sufficient rank to mate with the daughters of the King of England, and there appeared at one time to have been some probability that the three elder daughters of George II., who, to say truth, do not seem to have been particularly pretty or attractive women, would all have remained unmarried, and in fact the Princesses Amelia and Caroline did so remain.

Anne, the eldest, however, was a woman of somewhat determined character, and in 1732 she elected to marry Prince William IV. of Orange.

I have already said that the Princes of Orange derived their title from an exceedingly small principality in France, which, in the reign of Louis XIV., had been absorbed into the French kingdom ; and that the position of Stadtholder, which the Princes of Orange had successively held for nearly two centuries in the United States of Holland, was, so to speak, accidental. It was not hereditary, though various of the Princes had endeavoured to make it so ; and when on the death without issue of King William III. of England, who was also William III., Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland, the empty title of Prince of Orange passed to a

remote relative, John William of Friesland, the States refused to recognise that Prince as Stadtholder.

Prince John William was descended from a brother of William the Silent, and on his death he left a son William, who became Prince William IV. of Orange, and who, after a series of negotiations and troubles which it would be impossible to enter into or describe in this work, not only succeeded in getting himself elected Stadtholder, but in doing that which so many of his predecessors had tried to do in vain, that is to say, in getting the office declared hereditary.

This Prince was the selected husband of the English Princess Royal, but the marriage was not regarded with favour by anyone in England, least of all by the King and Queen or the other members of the Royal family. The Princes' position in Holland was extremely precarious, for it was not until 1746 that his position as Stadtholder was established, and his private means were comparatively speaking very small. Moreover, he himself was deformed and almost a dwarf, of somewhat repulsive appearance.

King George II. informed his daughter that her future husband, whom she had never seen, was the "ugliest man in Holland," to which the lady replied "that she would marry him if he was a Dutch baboon." Accordingly, Parliament having made a liberal provision for the lady, £80,000 down and £5000 a year for life, the Prince was invited to England, and arrived in November 1732. He was received with very little courtesy by the English Royal family, and having become ill almost immediately on his arrival, was allowed to shift for himself for some months, but having recovered his health the marriage was celebrated on the 24th of March 1733. The Princess was at that time in her twenty-fourth year, and her husband some months older.

It is said that when, according to the not very refined customs of the time, the Court paid a visit to the Prince and Princess in their nuptial chamber, the appearance presented by the gallant bridegroom was so startling that the bride's mother, Queen Caroline, had a bad fit of hysterics,

and had to be carried from the room. Notwithstanding this somewhat unpromising beginning, the Prince and Princess of Orange lived together on fairly good terms, although in the early years of her married life the Princess evinced a disposition to pay more frequent and longer visits to her family than they or her husband at all desired. When her mother was dying in 1737 Anne was expressly requested *not* to come to England, and when she subsequently paid a visit of condolence to her father he received her with, to say the least, scant civility. As from that date the intercourse between the Princess and her family was neither frequent nor intimate, and it would be impossible to give an account of the life of the Princess of Orange after her marriage without plunging into the history of European politics in the eighteenth century. Her husband died in 1751, and after his death his widow became Regent for their young son Prince William V. of Orange, an office which she held, and in which she does not appear to have behaved herself with any marked ability, for several years. She died on the 2nd of January 1759 in her fiftieth year, and she is buried in Holland. Her father survived her for nearly two years.

The history of Holland was for many years a stormy one, but notwithstanding many vicissitudes in the fortunes of the reigning family the present Queen of Holland is the direct descendant of Anne, eldest daughter of George II.

Anne's grandson (the son of her son William V., Prince of Orange) became William I., King of the Netherlands, and died in 1843. His son was King William II., who died in 1849, and William II. was the father of the late King William III., who was the father of the present Queen Wilhelmina. (See Table XXIII.)

The Princess Amelia, or, as she is sometimes called, Emily, was born on the 10th of June 1711, and died unmarried on the 1st of October 1786 in her seventy-sixth year, and twenty-eight years after the accession of her nephew George III. She is buried in Westminster Abbey. For many years there was a plan for a double alliance between the Courts of

TABLE XXIII.

KING GEORGE II.

d. 1760.

FREDERIC,
Prince of Wales. *d.* 1751.

KING GEORGE III.
d. 1820.

EDWARD,
Duke of Kent. *d.* 1820.

QUEEN VICTORIA.
d. 1901.

KING EDWARD VII.
d. 1910.

KING GEORGE V.

ANNE = WILLIAM IV.
d. 1759. Prince of Orange.
d. 1751.

WILLIAM V.
Prince of Orange.

WILLIAM^I.
King of the Netherlands. *d.* 1843.

WILLIAM II.
King of the Netherlands. *d.* 1849.

WILLIAM III.
King of the Netherlands. *d.* 1890.

WILHELMINA,
Queen of the Netherlands.

England and Prussia in which she was interested. It will be remembered that Sophia Charlotte, sister of George I. of England, had married Frederic I. of Prussia, and that Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George I. and sister of George II., had married her cousin Frederic William I. of Prussia, who was the son of her aunt Sophia Charlotte (see Table XXI.). Notwithstanding this already close relationship between the two Courts, it was proposed that Frederic Prince of Wales, eldest son of George II., should marry his cousin the Princess Wilhelmina, eldest daughter of Frederic William I. and Sophia Dorothea, and that Wilhelmina's brother, the Crown Prince Frederic (afterwards Frederic the Great), should marry the Princess Amelia. Amelia was accepted in preference to her elder sister, as in fact both Princesses were a little too old; Amelia being one, and her sister three years older than the Crown Prince. These marriages were strongly advocated by the ladies of the two families, but did not find equal favour with the Kings George and Frederic William, who throughout their lives entertained the most cordial personal dislike for one another. As boys they had spent some time together at the Court of their common grandmother, Sophia Electress of Hanover, and had there quarrelled like little demons, and the enmity which then commenced continued with unabated vigour throughout their lives. Consequently, though each King would have seen his daughter married to the heir of the other with tolerable equanimity, neither of them could endure the notion of welcoming the other's daughter as the wife of his own heir, and after an extraordinary number of negotiations and delays the marriages were broken off. I cannot but think that the English had a happy escape, for a more unpleasant little person than the Princess Wilhelmina (afterwards Margravine of Baireuth), as she depicts herself in her own memoirs, it would in my opinion be difficult to find. Nor do I think that the Princess Amelia would have had altogether a happy time of it as the wife of the great Frederic. Nevertheless the Princess Amelia seems to have suffered great disappointment in his loss, or rather in the loss of his

Crown, for she never saw him—a loss which probably embittered her subsequent life. She was a very strong-minded and coarse woman, with a great turn for political intrigue, and without the ability to carry out her own views. On the death of her mother in 1737, Amelia was already twenty-six, and she made a somewhat vigorous effort to succeed to the position her mother had held in her father's councils, but King George, who was by no means a tender parent, absolutely repudiated her interference, and the Princess' subsequent life was not a very happy one. She had a large income from Parliament and obtained the Rangership of Richmond Park, and in that capacity she entered upon a somewhat lively quarrel with the general public with reference to the Park, which she had a mind to enclose. A law suit was commenced against her, in which it is needless to say the Princess was defeated, and she seems to have accepted her defeat with a very bad grace. She afterwards retired to Gunnersbury where she had a house, and where she died at, as I have said, the great age of seventy-six. In her later life she became somewhat eccentric in her habits and mode of life, and a good many not very good natured stories are told about her by Horace Walpole and Lord Hervey, but as these writers are not distinguished for amiability, the stories probably lost nothing in the telling.

The Princess Caroline, third daughter of George II., was born on the 31st of May 1713, and she died unmarried in the year 1757 in her forty-fifth year. She is buried in Westminster Abbey.

This Princess was a far more amiable woman than either of her elder sisters, and she is said to have been the favourite daughter of Queen Caroline, whom she nursed during her last illness with kindness and devotion. After the Queen's death the Princess herself fell into bad health, and her later years were clouded with much suffering. Her father survived her for three years.

It is well known that Queen Caroline lived on terms of extraordinary but strictly platonic intimacy with the

celebrated Lord Hervey, to whose memoirs we are indebted for much that we know of the inner circles of Queen Caroline's Court. This Lord Hervey was the eldest son and heir of John Hervey, first Earl of Bristol of his family, and was the father of George Hervey and Augustus Hervey, successively second and third Earls, from the latter of whom the present Marquis of Bristol is descended. Lord Hervey himself was born in 1696, and married in 1720 the famous beauty, Mary Lepel. He died in his father's lifetime in 1743, six years after Queen Caroline. It is said, and apparently with some foundation, that the Princess Caroline was the victim of a strong and unrequited affection for this not very amiable but no doubt very entertaining personage, and at all events it is certain that she took a great interest in his children, to whom she gave many and substantial marks of kindness.

William Duke of Cumberland, the younger of the two sons of George II. who lived to maturity, was born on the 15th of April 1721, and died unmarried on the 31st of October 1765, in his forty-fifth year. He is buried in Westminster Abbey.

This Duke of Cumberland is one of those persons, of whom there are so many, who are known in history by one event in their lives. It was his fortune, or misfortune, to be the general in command of his father's forces at the famous battle of Culloden, when Prince Charles Edward Stuart was finally defeated, and which was followed by such execrable cruelties that the Duke has ever since been known as "The Butcher." At the date of the battle in 1746 the Duke was in his twenty-fifth year.

I have no wish to extenuate or defend the cruelties committed after Culloden, but I think it unfair that one man should be held solely responsible for crimes which were in truth national. In the eighteenth century the Highlanders of Scotland were practically an unknown race to average Englishmen, who knew less about them and their habits and customs than at the present day, every man who reads the newspapers knows about the wildest of the discovered

tribes of Central Africa. The Highlanders were, in truth, at that time a savage and hardly civilised race. Their dress (very different from that of the modern gillie) and their appearance was almost that of savages; they were either wholly ignorant of, or utterly despised, all forms of industry or business; their mode of fighting was fierce in the extreme, and wholly untrammelled by the rules of civilised warfare, and they lived almost entirely by preying sometimes on the peaceful inhabitants of the lowlands, and sometimes on one another. We all know the proverb to the effect that what is unknown is terrible, and there can be no doubt that the real savagery of the Highlanders was exaggerated in the minds of the English to an absurd extent. So much was this the case that it appears to have been genuinely believed, at all events amongst the lower classes, that the Scotch tribes, which formed Prince Charles' army, were in the habit of cooking and eating little children for their daily food. Under these circumstances the painful truth is, that when Prince Charles crossed the borders the whole English nation, from the highest to the lowest, was in a terrible fright; and this panic extended to the soldiers, who, brave enough no doubt under ordinary circumstances, seem to have utterly lost their nerve in the earlier battles in which they were called upon to confront Prince Charles' army. It is, however, of common knowledge that fear begets cruelty, and there can, I think, be no doubt that in consequence of the extreme terror which pervaded all classes of the community, the most humane persons were animated by feelings of the bitterest exasperation against the persons who had so thoroughly disturbed their equanimity. Consequently, horrible as were the cruelties perpetrated by the Duke, they were at the time not only not reprobated by the general public, but universally regarded with feelings of somewhat savage exultation. When he returned to England he was greeted with enthusiasm everywhere, he received the thanks of Parliament, and a pension of £25,000 a year for his life, and he became for a short time the idol of the nation. It was not till some time afterwards, when common sense and

the common instincts of humanity began to re-assert themselves, that the people realised how wicked were the deeds which a short time before they had so greatly commended ; but as it is the tendency of all communities to look for a scapegoat to bear the punishment of crimes of which they are ashamed, so as soon as the people began to be ashamed of Culloden they immediately put the whole blame on the General who had won the battle. Thus the Prince who had been regarded as all that was heroic at the time came to be called "The Butcher."

Before the battle of Culloden the Duke of Cumberland had greatly distinguished himself at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy and elsewhere ; and after Culloden he was appointed, and remained for several years, commander of the English forces on the Continent. I think it is generally admitted that in that capacity he showed much personal courage and some military genius. Nevertheless in 1757 the Duke suffered a great loss of reputation, for in that year he signed the well-known capitulation of Closter Severn.

I am not a sufficient judge of military matters to form an opinion as to whether what he did was justifiable or not ; but there is high military authority for saying that the course he took was the best course he could have taken under the circumstances. This, however, was certainly not the view taken by King George or the nation at large at the time. The Duke was recalled, and received by the King, not only with coldness, but with contempt. He immediately resigned his employments, and retired into private life, in which he passed the eight remaining years of his life—a soured and deeply-disappointed man. He survived his father five years, and died of apoplexy in 1765. He never married.

CHAPTER XLII.

MARY, LANDGRAVINE OF HESSE-CASSEL.—LOUISA QUEEN OF DENMARK.—FREDERIC AND AUGUSTA, PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES.—AUGUSTA DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK.—PRINCESSES ELIZABETH AND LOUISA.—CAROLINE MATILDA QUEEN OF DENMARK.

VERY little is known of the personal history of the Princesses Mary and Louisa, the two younger daughters of King George II. There was an interval of ten years between the birth of the Princess Caroline and her next sister Mary, who was born on the 22nd of February 1723, and who was only in her fifteenth year when her mother died, and both Mary and Louisa married and left England for good as young girls. Consequently they did not come within the purview of the gossiping chroniclers of the Court of George II., and are rarely mentioned in English history.

Horace Walpole says of the Princess Mary that she was the "gentlest of her illustrious race"; and every writer who had occasion to mention this lady has recorded this sentiment, and, unfortunately, has recorded very little else.

In 1740 Mary, then seventeen, was married to Frederic, hereditary Prince, and afterwards Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. He was born in 1720, and was three years older than his wife. I have already said frankly that I know very little of the internal history of the minor German states, but Hesse-Cassel, which is quite distinct from Hesse-Darmstadt, has ceased to be an independent State since the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866, after which its territories were absorbed into the kingdom of Prussia, and its Princes passed into the ranks of what are called in Germany "Mediatized" Princes, *i.e.*,

Princes of whose families the heads were originally, but are no longer, the rulers of independent States. Of these independent States, prior to the Congress of Vienna in the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were about three hundred, but they were then reduced to thirty-nine, and that number has since been considerably diminished. In the eighteenth century, however, Hesse-Cassel was by no means an unimportant State, and its Landgraves were of very ancient and distinguished race. The Landgrave Frederic, Mary's husband, appears to have been a violent, inconstant and rather objectionable person, but he played a somewhat conspicuous part in the European wars and political events of his time. His history, however, did not materially affect England, and neither he nor his wife appear to have maintained any close relations with the English Royal family. It is said that he ill-used his wife, but she survived him for many years, and died on the 14th of June 1772 as a widow, and twelve years after the accession to the English Throne of her nephew George III. She was then aged sixty-nine.

The Landgrave Frederic and the Landgravine Mary had three sons, and their descendants at the present time are I believe very numerous; and I may here remark that though Hesse-Cassel is no longer an independent State, the Princes and Princesses of the ancient line of its Landgraves, though at the present time no more in actual position than great nobles are like the Princes and Princesses of most of the "Mediatized" families still regarded as belonging to the "Royal Caste", and consequently as being suitable partners for the European reigning families. As an illustration of this fact it will be remembered that a Prince of this family was in 1893 married to the Princess Margaret of Prussia, sister of the present German Emperor, and grand-daughter of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Prince Frederic, a younger son of Princess Mary and her husband, who was for some time himself Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, had with other issue three children to whom I must refer briefly—(1) a son William, who succeeded him as

Landgrave; (2) a daughter Marie; and (3) a daughter Augusta. The son, Landgrave William, married the Princess Charlotte of Denmark, who was a niece of King Christian VIII. of Denmark. Princess Louise of Hesse-Cassel, a daughter of this marriage who was born in 1817, was married in 1842 to Prince Christian of Schleswig Holstein Sondenbug Gluckstein, who was himself descended in the male line from Christian III. of Denmark. In 1852 the then reigning King of Denmark, Frederic VII., being without an heir, the succession to the Crown of Denmark was by the treaty of London concluded in that year, settled on this Prince Christian, and on the death of King Frederick VII. in 1863 he became King Christian IX. and his wife Queen Louisa of Denmark. These distinguished Sovereigns played a very important part in European politics and were the parents of six children. (1) the now reigning King Frederick VIII. of Denmark; (2) the now reigning King of Greece; (3) Prince Waldemar; (4) Queen Alexandra; (5) the Dowager Empress of Russia; and (6) the Duchess of Cumberland.

Princess Augusta of Hesse-Cassel, the younger of the two daughters of Landgrave Frederic (to whom I must refer again later), married Prince Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge, seventh son of George III., by whom she was the mother of (1) the late Duke George of Cambridge; (2) Augusta, now Grand Duchess, Dowager of Mecklenburg Strelitz; and (3) Mary, the late Duchess of Teck. Her elder sister, Princess Marie of Hesse-Cassel, married George Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and her son, the late Grand Duke William, married his cousin the Princess Augusta of Cambridge. Consequently it will be seen from Table XXIV. that the present Queen Mary of England, who was the daughter of the late Duchess of Teck, stands in the relationship of second cousin to both the parents of her husband, and that both she and her mother-in-law Queen Alexandra are descended from Mary, fourth daughter of King George II.

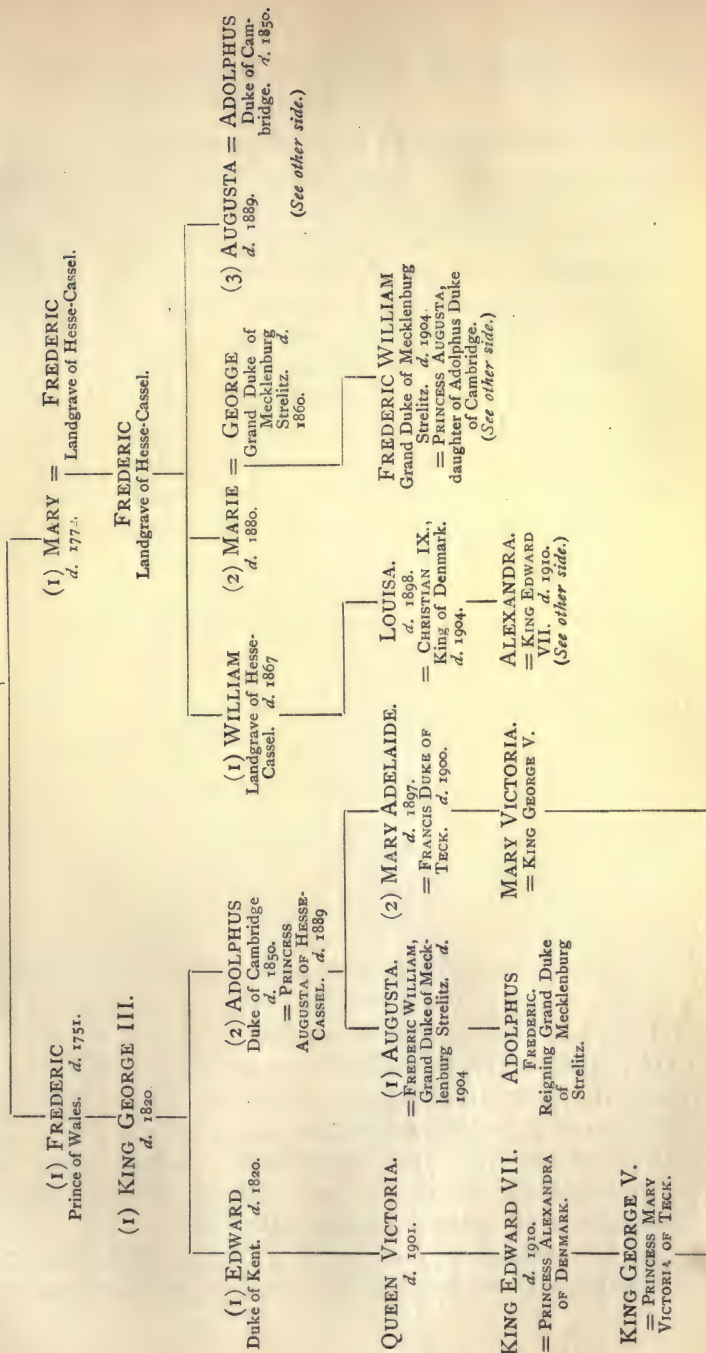
Princess Louisa, the youngest daughter of George II., was born on the 7th of December 1724, and in 1743 when she was

nineteen she married Frederic V. King of Denmark. It will be remembered that Christian V. of Denmark was brother to Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, and Frederic V. was descended from Christian V., there having been two intervening Kings, Frederic IV. and Christian IV. The married life of the King and Queen of Denmark was a short, though it appears on the whole to have been a happy one, and the Queen died in 1751 in her twenty-seventh year.

King Frederic afterwards married Juliana Princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, and to this very objectionable person, as well as to Christian VII., the only son of Frederick V. by Louisa of England, I shall have to refer later. In addition to the son mentioned Queen Louisa had three daughters. One of these ladies married King Gustavus III. of Sweden and was the mother of Gustavus IV. This King was deposed in 1778 in favour of Charles Duke of Sudermania, who ascended the Throne of Sweden in that year as Charles XIII., and he having no heirs afterwards adopted the famous Marshall Bernadotte, who became King Charles XIV., and was the founder of the present Swedish dynasty. Queen Louisa's two other daughters married their cousins George and Charles of Hesse-Cassel, the elder sons of Louisa's elder sister Mary, Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, and the elder brothers of the Prince Frederic who has been above referred to. The relationships of the reigning families of Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, and the various intermarriages between them, are however so complicated that it would be impossible within my limits to follow them in detail.

Frederic Prince of Wales, eldest son of George II. and father of George III., was born at Hanover on the 20th of January 1707, and was seven years old when his grandfather George I. became King of England, and in his twenty-first year on the death of that Sovereign in June 1727, and the accession of his own father to the Throne. Although on the accession of George I., George and Caroline, then Prince and Princess of Wales, proceeded to England accompanied by their three elder daughters, their eldest son Frederic was

KING GEORGE II.
d. 1760.



left in Hanover, and he there remained till 1728, a year after the accession of his father to the English Throne. Before he came to England Frederic was successively created Duke of Gloucester and Duke of Edinburgh, and on his father's accession he became Prince of Wales. The reasons which induced the Prince and Princess of Wales to leave the Prince who was heir-apparent to the Crown of England to be educated and to pass his boyhood and youth in a foreign country have never been satisfactorily explained ; but it is said they disliked the child from its birth, and certainly if they desired him to turn out ill they omitted no means to that end.

When Prince Frederic died, certain doggerel rhymes were written by way of a mock epitaph :

“ Here lies Fred
Who was alive and is dead
Had it been his father
I had much rather
Had it been his brother
Still better than another
Had it been his sister
No one could have missed her
Had it been the whole generation
Still better for the nation
But since 'tis only Fred
Who was alive, and is dead
There is no more to be said.”

These lines, certainly not complimentary to the Royal family as a whole, are usually quoted as suggesting that the Prince of Wales was a contemptible person, who, if less objectionable than his family, was more insignificant. I can see no reason for coming to any such conclusion. On the contrary, it seems to me that in point of ability Frederic was at any rate not conspicuously inferior to either his grandfather or his father, and that in personal character he was the most estimable man of the three.

It is true that from his first coming into England until his death, there existed between him and his parents what

can only be described as a bitter and unrelenting hatred. Such a state of things could not have existed without grave faults on both sides; but in my opinion the blame chiefly rested with the parents. It was they who allowed their son to be brought up as a stranger to them; they seem to have omitted no opportunity of treating him, in public as well as in private, with contempt and unconcealed aversion, they refused his requests for active employment of any kind, and they did their best to keep him without adequate means for his position. Indeed, in their pecuniary relations with the Prince they acted in a manner that was scarcely honest. Thus, though when he first came to England the allowance made to the King by Parliament for Frederic's maintenance was £100,000 a year, the *actual* sum paid by the King to his son was £30,000 a year; and every subsequent increase of income to the Prince had to be extorted from the King and Queen, almost by threats. When Queen Caroline was dying she refused, so it is said, to see her eldest son; and when George II. heard of the death of his heir his only remark was, "Dead, is he? why they told me he was better!"—at least that is the story told and apparently credited at the time.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that a Prince who gave abundant evidence that he was naturally of an affectionate disposition should have deeply resented the conduct of such parents, though the manner in which he showed his resentment was often undignified and reprehensible.

Frederic, who died in his forty-fifth year, is described as having been a good looking florid man, gay and rather volatile in temper, but as a rule gracious and affable in manners; and whatever may be said to the contrary I think it is plain from contemporary writings that he actually enjoyed at least as large a share of popularity as any of his kindred. He was deeply interested in literature, and a warm patron of art and the theatre, he was passionately fond of music, and certainly in his personal tastes he was a man

of greater culture and refinement than either George I. or George II.

Though his moral character left much to be desired, and he was an unfaithful husband, Frederic's infidelities appear, strange as it may sound, to have been due rather to a mistaken sense of what was due to his position as a Royal Prince than to his own tastes; for there can be no doubt that he was extremely fond of his wife (in whose praises he wrote many very indifferent verses), and that he greatly preferred her society to that of any of the women with whom his name is associated. Lastly, it is certain that he was both fond and proud of his children, to whom he was a kind and affectionate father.

Prince Frederic died on the 31st of March 1751 from the effects of a chill, and he is buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1736 the Prince of Wales married the Princess Augusta, youngest daughter of Frederic II., Duke of Saxe-Gotha. At the date of the marriage he was twenty-nine, and the Princess, who was born in 1719, was aged seventeen.

There were originally two Duchies, the one of Saxe-Gotha and the other of Saxe-Coburg, but these were united in the year 1826 under Duke Ernest I. (the uncle of the late Queen Victoria and the father of her husband the Prince Consort), who became the first Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. The Princess Augusta came of the family of Saxe-Gotha, which was a distinct family from that of the Saxe-Coburg, and she was not therefore related, or at all events related in any very near degree, to the family of which the late Queen and Prince Consort were members.

The story of the circumstances attending the birth of the first child of the Prince and Princess of Wales is tolerably well known. The whole Royal family were resident at Hampton Court, where the King and Queen desired that their grandchild should be born. Frederic, however, as it would seem out of pure perversity, determined that his child should be born at St. James' Palace, and accordingly late on the evening of the 31st of July 1737, after the Prince and

Princess had retired to their apartments, on its becoming apparent that the Princess was about to be delivered, Frederic without apprising his parents had his wife carried to a carriage in which, in the middle of the night and already suffering the pangs of childbirth, she was driven at the imminent risk of her life into London. Her first child was born at St. James' about 4 A.M. in the morning. This incident caused great scandal, and is usually cited as a proof that the Prince of Wales was a harsh and a cruel husband, but in point of fact the Princess of Wales, though she had good cause to complain and was, so to speak, urgently invited to do so, did *not* complain, and there is a large amount of evidence that throughout their joint lives Frederic and Augusta lived together on terms of harmony, which in the eighteenth century were very unusual in Royal households. The Princess appears to have been sincerely shocked at and grieved by her husband's death, and she afterwards paid his debts out of her own jointure.

Augusta of Saxe-Gotha is represented as being, and probably was, an ambitious and narrow-minded woman, who in her later years became somewhat hard and morose in her manners. It is said that to her children, other than her eldest son (who afterwards became King), she showed little affection. It is, however, certain that she possessed much influence over the mind of George III., which she did not use very wisely. It is to her influence that John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, owed his short-lived and disastrous position as Prime Minister to King George, and it is said, and I believe with some grounds, that the Princess of Wales and this Lord Bute were before her death secretly married.

The Princess of Wales died on 8th of February 1772, nearly twelve years after the accession of her son, and aged fifty-three. She is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Frederic Prince of Wales and his wife had nine children :

- (1) Augusta, afterwards Duchess of Brunswick, born 1737;
- (2) George, afterwards George III., born 1738; (3) Edward, afterwards Duke of York and Albany, born 1739; (4)

Elizabeth, born 1740; (5) William, afterwards Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, born 1743; (6) Henry, afterwards Duke of Cumberland, born 1745; (7) Louisa, born 1748; (8) Frederic, born 1750; and (9) Caroline Matilda, afterwards Queen of Denmark, born four months after her father's death on the 22nd of July 1751.

I propose to speak first of the daughters then of the younger sons, and lastly of the eldest son of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Augusta, their eldest daughter, was born under circumstances already referred to on the 1st of August 1737, and her father insisted, for reasons which are not very intelligible, that she should be styled not Princess but the "Lady" Augusta. On the 16th of January 1764, more than three years after her brother had become King of England, Augusta married Charles William Ferdinand, then hereditary Prince, and who in 1780 became Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbützel.

It will be remembered that long before the time of the Electress Sophia of Hanover the original Duchy of Brunswick had been divided into the branches of Brunswick Wolfenbützel and Brunswick Lüneburg, of which the former represented the elder and the latter (of which Sophia's son, afterwards George I., became the head) the junior branch of the great Guelph family.

At the date of the marriage of the Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbützel and the "Lady Augusta" their respective ages were twenty-nine and twenty-three. The bridegroom had already attained a considerable military reputation, and as the victorious general of the allied forces over the French at the Battle of Minden in 1759 he was received by the English with much interest and cordiality—a cordiality which, it is said, was not altogether shared by the English Court. In his subsequent career the Duke fairly maintained his previous military reputation, and he was ultimately killed in 1806 fighting on the Prussian side at the Battle of Jena, he being at the time in his seventy-first year. In 1794 the first Lord Malmesbury was the Ambassador from the Court of George

III. to the Court of Brunswick to negotiate the marriage which afterwards took place between the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., and his cousin the Princess Caroline, youngest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick. Lord Malmesbury has left an account of the Ducal family of Brunswick which is very unpleasant reading. He represents the mistress of the Duke as living at the Court and interfering in the details of the proposed marriage with as much freedom as the bride's mother—the Duchess as a silly and garrulous old woman, indulging herself in coarse invective against her sister-in-law, Queen Charlotte of England, and gratifying her love of gossip even in the presence of her daughter, with little regard to propriety or even decency, and he represents the Princess Caroline herself as a somewhat sharp young woman, dirty in her person, vulgar in her manners, and to say the least very free in her conversation. I fear that this picture was too true, and I have no wish to dwell further upon it. After the death of the Duke of Brunswick the troubles on the Continent made it expedient for his widow to take refuge in England. She came to London in July 1807, and continued to live in England till 1813, when she died aged seventy-three. She is buried at Windsor, which in the reign of George III. began to be preferred to Westminster as the place of Royal Sepulture.

The Duke and Duchess of Brunswick had six children, four sons and two daughters. Of their sons three died without issue, and the fourth, Frederic, was that gallant Duke of Brunswick who fell fighting at the Battle of Quatre Bras in 1815. This Prince left two sons who successively bore the title of Duke of Brunswick, and who both died without issue, the latter in 1884, whereupon the elder line of the Guelph family became extinct. After the war of 1866 the kingdom of Hanover, into which the Duchy of Brunswick Luneburg had been erected, was absorbed into the kingdom of Prussia, and ceased to exist as an independent State, and its King, George V., was driven into exile. He died in 1878, and his only son, who now bears the title of Duke of Cumber-

land, became the head of the junior branch of the Guelph family, and on the death in 1884 of the last male of the elder branch he and his sons became and are now the sole remaining members of the Guelph family, and consequently heirs to the Duchy of Brunswick. To these Princes I must return later, and it is sufficient to say now that as hitherto they have refused to recognise the right of Prussia to the kingdom of Hanover, they have not been allowed to succeed to the Duchy of Brunswick. That Duchy still exists as nominally an independent State, but as since 1884 it has been governed by a series of Regents practically nominated by Prussia, it may be doubted whether it will long retain its independence.

The daughters of the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick were Charlotte, who married Frederic, last Duke and first King of Wurtemberg, and Caroline, who married George IV. of England. They were two of the most unhappy women in history, but to both of these ladies I must shortly refer in a later chapter.

Elizabeth, second daughter of the Prince and Princess of Wales, is said to have been a girl of exceptional intellect and power, but she was unhappily deformed. She was born in 1740, and died in 1759. Her next sister, Louisa, was born in 1748 and died in 1768 unmarried. Both these Princesses are buried in Westminster Abbey.

It will be remembered that in 1743 Louisa, fifth daughter of George II., married Frederic V., King of Denmark, and that she died in 1751, leaving an only son who afterwards became Christian VII. It has also been mentioned that after the death of Queen Louisa, Frederic V. married the Princess Juliana of Brunswick. When he died his son by his first marriage was still a boy, and the Regency passed into the hands of Queen Juliana, who bears in history a very evil reputation. Her stepson was a youth of feeble intellect and vicious tendencies, and it is said that Juliana, hoping for the advancement of her own children, neglected his education, and deliberately threw him into bad company in the hope of further perverting his mental and moral powers. This young

King, Christian VII., was born in 1748, and in 1766, when he was eighteen, he came to London to visit King George III., who was the son of the eldest brother of Christian's mother, and therefore his first cousin. Being in London, Christian on the 1st of October 1766 married King George's youngest sister, the Princess Caroline Matilda. The Princess was as I have said a posthumous child, and had been born in July 1751, and she was therefore in her sixteenth year.

I have endeavoured as far as possible to avoid using double names for the Princes and Princesses who are the subject of this work, but in the case of this lady it is impossible to avoid doing so, as she is not only always known as Caroline Matilda, but she herself signed her letters sometimes "Caroline Matilda," sometimes "Caroline," and sometimes, and this to documents of importance, "Matilda" only.

She appears to have been a handsome and clever woman, decidedly masculine in her tastes, and very ambitious in her projects. From the date of her arrival in Denmark she set herself to counteract the influence of her husband's step-mother, Queen Juliana, and in the struggle for power which ensued she was greatly aided by the ability of Count Struensee, a man who had commenced life as a doctor of medicine, and who under the auspices of Caroline Matilda became for a time Prime Minister of Denmark.

For some years the Queen appeared to have gained the upper hand, but she had many formidable enemies, and on the 17th of January 1772, after a masked ball, the Queen and Struensee, and several of their principal adherents, were suddenly arrested. Struensee and some of the others were almost immediately executed. The Queen would probably have shared the same fate but for the remonstrances of the English Ambassador; and in fact she was banished from Denmark, and by direction of her brother King George III., conveyed to Zelle in Hanover, where she remained for the rest of her life. She died there three years later in May 1775 in her twenty-fourth year.

The revolution effected in 1772 was brought about by the Queen Dowager Juliana, for Christian VII. had by that time become almost imbecile.

It is commonly said that the relations between Queen Caroline Matilda and Struensee were too intimate, but this the Queen herself strongly denied, and she was certainly not allowed any opportunity of clearing her good name. All the evidence which exists, so far as I am aware, though it indicates some want of prudence, not very wonderful under the circumstances in which the Queen was placed, certainly does not establish the criminal charge.

King George III. has been greatly blamed for his indifference to his sister's fate, but even assuming him to have been fully satisfied of her innocence, he could only have re-established her on her husband's Throne by force of arms, and he was hardly at the time in case to have undertaken such an exploit.

Queen Caroline Matilda had two children, a daughter Louise and a son Frederic. The Princess Louise of Denmark, who was born in 1771 and died in 1846, was married to Frederic, Duke of Schleswig Holstein Sondenburg, by whom she had a son Frederic, who was commonly spoken of as the Duke of Augustenburg. At the commencement of the war between Prussia and Denmark which terminated in 1857, he was put forward as a claimant to the Throne of Denmark but his claims were ignored. He died in 1865, having before his death assumed the title of Fürst Von Noer, Noer being a village in Schleswig. He had married morganatically an American lady by whom he left issue. The husband of the Princess Louise of Denmark (Duke Frederic of Schleswig Holstein) was uncle to the Prince Christian of Schleswig Holstein Augustenburg Sondenburg, who married the late Queen Victoria's third daughter, Princess Helena.

Prince Frederic, the son of Queen Caroline Matilda, succeeded his father, and became King Frederic VI. of Denmark, and enjoys the reputation of having been one of the most admirable Kings of that country. He died without

issue in 1837, and was succeeded by Christian VIII. who was his cousin, and was the grandson of Frederic V. by his second wife Juliana. Christian VIII. was succeeded by his son Frederic VII., who died without issue in 1864. Thereupon, as has been told, Prince Christian of Schleswig Holstein Augustenburg Glucksburg was chosen King, and became Christian IX. He was the father of Queen Alexandra.

CHAPTER XLIII.

EDWARD DUKE OF YORK.—WILLIAM DUKE OF
GLOUCESTER.—HENRY DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.—
GEORGE III.—QUEEN CHARLOTTE.—GEORGE III.'S
DAUGHTERS.

EDWARD and Frederic, the second and fifth sons of Frederic Prince of Wales, may be briefly dismissed. Prince Edward was born on the 14th of March 1739, and was in his twenty-second year when his elder brother became King of England in October 1760, on which occasion he was created Duke of York and Albany. He died unmarried on the 17th of September 1767 in his twenty-ninth year, having been, it is said, a young man of some promise.

Prince Frederic was born in May 1750 and died in December 1765, in his sixteenth year. Both these Princes are buried in Westminster Abbey.

The Princes William and Henry, third and fourth sons of the Prince of Wales, were born respectively in November 1743 and October 1745; and they were youths of seventeen and fifteen when their brother became King. In 1764, when he attained his majority, Prince William was created Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, and two years later he married Maria, natural daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, one of the sons of King George II.'s great Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford. This lady had been previously married to James, second Earl Waldegrave, and at the date of her marriage to the Duke of Gloucester. she was a widow with three young daughters.

Prince Henry in 1766, on attaining his majority, was created Duke of Cumberland, and five years later, in 1771, he

married Lady Anne Horton, a daughter of Simon Luttrell, first Earl of Carhampton in the Peerage of Ireland, and widow of a Mr. Horton, a county gentleman in Derbyshire. Lord Carhampton, though of a respectable Irish family, had very recently been raised to the Peerage, and his Peerage has long since become extinct.

It is hardly to be wondered at that the marriages of the two surviving brothers of the reigning Sovereigns, both very young men, each with a widow considerably his senior, and of by no means illustrious birth or connection, gave great offence at Court ; and it was in consequence of these marriages that the Act of Parliament known as the "Royal Marriage Act" was passed in the twelfth year of King George III.

By that statute it was enacted by section (1) "that no descendant of the body of his late Majesty King George II., male or female (other than the issue of Princesses who had married or might thereafter marry into foreign families), should be capable of contracting matrimony without the previous consent of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, signified under the Great Seal, and that every marriage or matrimonial contract of any such descendant without such consent first had or obtained should be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever." The second section provided "that in case any such descendant being above the age of twenty-five, should persist in his or her resolution to contract a marriage disapproved of by the King, his heirs or successors, then such descendant, upon giving notice to the King's Privy Council, might at any time, from the expiration of twelve calendar months after such notice, contract such marriage, and his or her marriage with the person before proposed and rejected might be duly solemnized without the previous consent of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, and that such marriage should be good as if that Act had never been made, unless both Houses of Parliament should before the expiration of the said twelve months expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage."

The third section imposed certain penalties on any person

who should "presume to solemnize, or to assist, or to be present at" any Royal marriage rendered illegal by the Act.

It is generally supposed that by the Act in question members of the Royal family are absolutely prohibited from marrying without the Sovereign's consent. This is a mistake, for every Prince or Princess who has attained the age of twenty-five may marry as he or she pleases on giving twelve calendar months' previous notice to the Privy Council, except in the very improbable event of the Houses of Parliament interfering to prevent the marriage of which notice has been given. On the other hand, however, it is not generally realized how very far reaching is the operation of the Act, and that it extends to all the descendants of George II. (other than the descendants of ladies "who have married into a foreign family") until the end of all time.

It is obvious that such descendants may easily in course of the next hundred or even fifty years include a great number of persons of no particular rank or position, and therefore, though it may well be the case that it is expedient to retain some statutory check on early and imprudent marriages by the immediate relatives of the Sovereign, it is clear that the existing Act must, at no distant date, be materially modified. Otherwise the Act will sooner or later bring about ludicrous and perhaps disastrous results. And indeed, even as it is, it places certain persons in a somewhat anomalous and unfair position.

So long as we retain a Monarchy (and I hope that we shall always do so) the immediate relatives of the Sovereign ought, I think it is plain, to be either directly or indirectly maintained and portioned by the nation in a manner suitable to their rank and high position; and the nation has a right to expect that persons so provided for should not by marriage or otherwise do anything to compromise the dignity of the Crown; but on the other hand it is clear, first, that from an economical point of view, the number of Princes and Princesses to be maintained or portioned ought to be strictly limited, and secondly, that the nation has no right to impose restrictions

on the right to marry of persons for whom it does not provide.

As an illustration, the present Duke of Cumberland is the great grandson of King George III., and was only second cousin to His late Majesty King Edward VII., and if any of the Duke's children should come to England and demand a maintenance from Parliament their claim would certainly be treated as absurd ; nevertheless the Duke of Cumberland and his children are descended in the direct male line from George II., and are clearly within the terms of the Royal Marriage Act, and, if they proposed to marry in England, they would be subjected to restrictions which might be irritating, and even injurious, and which are not imposed on any ordinary British subject, or on any foreigner residing in Great Britain. This seems to me to be obviously unfair. Again the Princess Royal, King Edward's eldest daughter, was married to the late Duke of Fife, who was a Peer of the United Kingdom. Her Royal Highness has two daughters, who are of a marriageable age. Upon these young ladies the late King conferred the title of Princess, but they are not strictly members of the British Royal family. They may very possibly contract brilliant marriages with foreign Princes, but on the other hand they may very possibly, with the Sovereign's consent, marry British subjects, and have children who may be commoners or only bear titles of courtesy. Nevertheless, not only these young ladies themselves, but all their British descendants are within the Act. Further, what is meant by "marrying into a foreign family"? Three Princesses of the Royal family, Princesses Helena and Beatrice, Queen Victoria's daughters, and Princess Mary of Cambridge, her cousin, married Princes who were undoubtedly by origin members of "foreign families," though they had themselves before their marriages been naturalised as British subjects. I should have thought it was at least arguable that those ladies had married "into foreign families" so as to exclude their offspring from the operation of the Act, but as a matter of fact when the present Duke of Teck, the

eldest son of the late Duke of Teck and Princess Mary of Cambridge, married Lady Margaret Grosvenor, the consent of the late Queen Victoria was thought necessary. If such consent was necessary, then all the descendants of the present Duke of Teck and his surviving brother, and of the three young Princes of Battenburg, sons of Princess Beatrice, will have to apply for the Royal consent before they can marry, though it is obvious that in a couple of generations these descendants may be very numerous, and of no particular rank or importance.

After this long digression I must return to the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, who were not in themselves, and apart from their marriages, very interesting persons.

The Duke of Gloucester survived, though he was always in bad health until 1805, and died in his sixty-second year, having had three children, who after some delay were recognised as members of the reigning family. They were: (1) the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, born in 1773, nearly seven years after her parents' marriage. She died unmarried in 1844, thirteen years after the accession of Queen Victoria, and seems to have been an amiable but slightly eccentric person; (2) another daughter, born in 1774, who died as an infant; and (3) William, born in 1776, who succeeded his father as Duke of Gloucester, and to whom I must again refer.

I believe that William, Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III., and his son and daughters are all buried at Windsor. His widow, whose position was eventually fully recognised by the Court, died in 1807.

Henry, Duke of Cumberland, died without issue 1790, aged forty-five, and is one of the last Princes buried in Westminster Abbey. His widow, the Duchess of Cumberland, survived till 1803.

King George III. was born on the 9th of June 1738, and was in his twenty-third year when he became King in October 1760. In the following September (1761) he married the Princess Charlotte, daughter of Charles Louis Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, who was born in 1744, and who

at the date of her marriage was in her seventeenth year. Queen Charlotte died on the 17th of November 1818 in her seventy-fifth year, and King George, who survived her for fifteen months, died on the 29th of January 1820, in his eighty-second year. He reigned for over fifty-nine years—a reign which in point of duration exceeds that of every other English Sovereign except that of his granddaughter the late Queen Victoria.

It is not, I think, contended that George III. was a man of any very commanding abilities, but he was a man of extremely estimable private character. Sincerely religious and honestly patriotic, he was gracious and kindly in his manners and very lovable, and in fact much loved by the great majority of his subjects.

It has of late years been the fashion to sneer at the virtues of this King, and especially at those domestic virtues which made him for over fifty years the most faithful and devoted of husbands ; but though it is, perhaps, a strong thing to say, I believe it was those very virtues which preserved the English Monarchy, and saved England from many of the horrors of the French Revolution.

In the eighteenth century nearly all the Princes of the reigning families in Europe had sunk into depths of immorality which could hardly have gone deeper, which were gradually sapping the foundations of domestic life in all the Courts of Europe, and which made the Princes objects at once of fear and contempt to all right-minded persons. Things had come to such a pass that even those Princes who were by nature domestic in their tastes, feared to follow their own instincts, and conformed to the prevailing immorality, not so much from inclination as from a mistaken sense of what was due to their position. Thus an acknowledged mistress had come to be regarded as almost as necessary a member of the household of a married Prince as in the middle ages a professional fool was a necessary adjunct to the train of even the most austere personage. It is needless to say that the example so set by the great ones of the earth was, more or less,

followed by all classes of society, and the results to public morality and public decency were so deplorable that if society was to be carried on a great reaction was inevitable. That reaction was one of the causes of the French Revolution, which shook all Europe to its foundations. Under such circumstances it required no little moral courage for a young man, who succeeded to immense power and authority when he was little more than a boy, not only to conquer the temptations of his age and position, but to brave the ridicule and jeers of nearly all those men who were his equals in rank, and his natural friends and companions, and to give so signal an example of domestic purity as did George III. throughout his long life. The example he set had its immediate effect on society, and amidst much laughter and much pretended ridicule the King speedily won the personal respect and admiration of his subjects. And to that deep-rooted respect, I believe, he, to a great extent, owed the fact that he, almost alone amongst the Sovereigns of his time, was enabled to maintain his position unshaken on his Throne.

Moreover, though the good example set by George III. suffered some check from the scandalous behaviour of his eldest son, it greatly assisted and strengthened the hands of his granddaughter Queen Victoria and her husband, in introducing those social reforms of which we all feel the benefit, and for which we all have such good reason to be thankful. No doubt now, as at every other time, there is great and widespread immorality, but immorality no longer stalks unrebuked and unblushing through the land! The virtues of family life are universally respected and are widely practised; and no man and no woman, however exalted their rank or brilliant their abilities, could for a moment, in England at any rate, maintain his or her position without at all events conforming externally to the ordinary rules of decency and propriety.

Of Queen Charlotte's character different estimates have been formed by different persons. She was certainly a woman of many virtues, who obtained a large measure of

respect and affection, not merely from many personal friends, but from the nation at large. The exhibition of her virtue, however, appears to have been at times harsh and ungracious ; and in my opinion she cannot be acquitted, to say the least, of extreme unkindness to her unfortunate daughter-in-law the Princess of Wales. That lady had many faults, faults as grave as can well be imputed to any woman, but she was a woman as amenable as any other to womanly gentleness and kindness, which it can hardly be said that she ever experienced from, at any rate, her husband's mother. On the contrary, from the moment of the Princess Caroline's arrival in England and until her death, she was treated in Court circles with an unrelenting coldness and want of sympathy or consideration which at times passed far beyond the limits of justice and fair play, and for this I cannot but think that the Queen, who was bound on every ground to protect and assist her, and whose influence in family and social matters was supreme, was mainly to blame.

King George III. and Queen Charlotte are buried at Windsor.

They had a family of fifteen children, of whom thirteen, seven sons and six daughters, lived to maturity.

They were: (1) George, afterwards George IV., born 1762 ; (2) Frederic, afterwards Duke of York and Albany, born 1763 ; (3) William, sometime Duke of Clarence and afterwards William IV., born 1765 ; (4) Charlotte (Princess Royal), afterwards Queen of Wurtemberg, born 1766 ; (5) Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, born 1767 ; (6) Augusta, born 1768 ; (7) Elizabeth, afterwards Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg, born 1770 ; (8) Ernest, afterwards Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover, born 1771 ; (9) Augustus, afterwards Duke of Sussex, born 1772 ; (10) Adolphus, afterwards Duke of Cambridge, born 1774 ; (11) Mary, afterwards Duchess of Gloucester, born 1776 ; (12) Sophia, born 1777 ; (13) Octavius, born 1779, and who died in 1783 ; (14) Alfred, who was born and died in 1782, and (15) Amelia, born 1783.

The daughters of George III. have been the subject of much ridicule and ill-natured comment during their lives and since. It is said that being unable to marry in their own rank they, or some of them, formed attachments to gentlemen of a comparatively inferior position, and that one of them, Princess Elizabeth, was actually married privately and was a widow at the time of her public marriage below referred to. It is certain that the youngest, Princess Amelia, was exceedingly attached to General Fitzroy (of the family of the Duke of Grafton, and who was descended from Charles II., see *ante*), that this attachment was returned, and that a marriage between the Princess and General Fitzroy was contemplated, and prevented only by the untimely illness and death of the lady. All the circumstances of this attachment so far as they are known are entirely creditable to the Princess (see "The Romance of Princess Amelia," by W. S. Childe Pemberton), and as to the other stories they seem to me to rest on mere gossip, and in any case I fail to see any object in raking them up in regard to ladies who, according to all the *known* facts of their lives, would seem to have been thoroughly amiable, kind hearted and accomplished women. For very many years it seemed probable that these Princesses would all be allowed to live and die in single blessedness, and the spectacle of a number of unmarried ladies, several of whom were past their first bloom, continually following their parents about on all occasions was apt to produce, and did produce, more or less irreverent remark.

At the time when the daughters of George III. reached their maturity the whole of Europe was in the throes of the great struggle known as the French Revolution. Nearly every Throne was trembling in the balance, and there were few if any Protestant Continental Princes whose position was sufficiently secure to admit of their being very eligible "partis" for English Princesses, and moreover, at the time the Continental Princes themselves were a good deal more occupied in military pursuits than in thoughts of marrying or giving in marriage. In England, Prince William of Gloucester was the only

marriageable Prince outside the King's immediate family, and he, though ultimately he did marry the Princess Mary (who was almost exactly his own age), was not quite all that could be wished in a husband. The King and Queen had a rooted and unconquerable prejudice against allowing their children to marry out of what for want of a better phrase I have called the "Royal caste"; and as the result, three of the Princesses died unmarried, and the three who *did* marry, did not marry until they were well past the age of girlhood. The eldest, Princess Charlotte, or "Princess Royal," was born in 1766, and in 1797, when she was in her thirty-first year, she married Frederic William, then hereditary Prince, but who a few months later became Duke of Wurtemberg. This distinguished person was at the date of his marriage with the Princess Royal a widower with several children, and the circumstances of his earlier marriage were such as might well have caused uneasiness to the Princess' parents and friends. His first wife had been the Princess Charlotte of Brunswick, who was King George III.'s niece, being the eldest daughter of the King's sister Augusta Duchess of Brunswick, and who was the elder sister of the Princess Caroline who afterwards married George IV. The marriage between the Prince of Wurtemberg and the Princess Charlotte of Brunswick took place in 1780, and some years later the Prince and Princess went to Russia, where the Prince's sister was the wife of the unfortunate Czarewitz afterwards Emperor Paul, son of the Czarina Catherine II. The Princess Charlotte was so fascinated with Russian society that she refused to leave Russia with her husband when he was obliged to go home. Shortly afterwards she disappeared, as it was said into a Russian prison, where she is supposed to have died in or about the year 1788, though the circumstances and cause of her death are quite uncertain. Whether this lady fell, as has been suggested, a victim to the jealousy of Catherine, or, as it has been said, to the jealousy of her own husband, or to her own misconduct, or as may probably be the case to a combination of all three causes, is one of the minor problems

of history which never has been and, it may be assumed, never will be settled.

It is said, however, that before allowing the Prince of Wurtemberg to marry his daughter, King George III. made a careful enquiry into the Prince's conduct, and satisfied himself that his future son-in-law was free from substantial blame, and it is certain that the marriage of the Princess Royal was not unhappy. Her husband was one of the most energetic supporters of Napoleon Bonaparte, and he was rewarded for his services to that Potentate when in 1806 the Duchy of Wurtemberg was converted into a kingdom, of which Duke Frederic and his second wife became the first King and Queen.

The first King of Wurtemberg died in 1816 in his sixtieth year, and his wife survived him for twelve years and died at Stuttgardt in 1828 in her sixty-third year, eight years after the death of her father. She had no child of her own, but was greatly attached to her stepchildren born of her husband's first marriage, whose unhappy mother had been her own first cousin.

Queen Charlotte of Wurtemberg seems to have won the very cordial affection of her husband's subjects, and to have fulfilled all the duties of her position with much dignity and good feeling.

The genealogy of the reigning family of Wurtemberg is somewhat complicated, there being, in addition to the "Royal line" descended from the first King Frederic I. and his first wife, several "ducal lines" descended from the three sons of Duke Frederic Eugene, who died in 1777. The present King William II. is the great grandson in the direct male line of Frederic I. and Charlotte of Brunswick, but as he is the only living Prince who is so descended and as he has no son, it is probable that on his death the Crown of Wurtemberg will pass to a Prince of a collateral line. In this connection I may say that down till 1885, when he died, the senior ducal line was represented by Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg. He, in 1835, married morganatically the

Countess Claudine de Rhédey, who on the marriage was created Countess de Hohenstein. By this lady, who died in 1841, he had an only son, who in 1863 was created Prince of Teck, and in 1871 was advanced to the rank of Duke of Teck, the title of Teck being derived from a castle so named in Wurtemberg. In 1866 the Prince of Teck married Princess Mary of Cambridge, by whom he had a daughter (now Queen of England) and three sons. Of these the eldest, now Duke of Teck, would be heir presumptive to the Crown of Wurtemberg but for the fact that the marriage of his grandfather having been morganatic by German law, the issue of that marriage are deprived of their rights to the succession.

The Princess Augusta, second daughter of George III., never married. She was born in 1768 and survived till 1840, when she died in her seventy-second year, three years after the accession of her niece Queen Victoria. During the reign of George IV. the Princess Augusta, the King's eldest surviving sister, was for a time virtually the first lady in England, and in that capacity was frequently called upon to preside at Court functions, and though her practical influence was not great, such as it was it was used in the interests of decorum. Her charities in proportion to her income were very large, and she appears in all respects to have been a very estimable woman.

The Princess Elizabeth was born in 1770, and died in 1840 in her seventieth year. In 1818, being in her forty-eighth year, she married the Landgrave Frederic of Hesse-Homburg, a small province which as an independent State has long since ceased to exist. Her husband, who was about her own age, died nearly twelve years before her in 1828. She had no child. Her letters, which were published some years ago (see "*Correspondence of Princess Elizabeth*," edited by Philip Ch. Yorke), are interesting, and give a quaint and not unpleasant view of Court life in a very minor State at the early part of the nineteenth century. The admiration the Landgravine felt, apparently with sincerity, for her brothers, and particularly for George IV., strikes one at the

present day with some amazement, but the lady herself seems to have been a very kindly and good natured person, and her annuity of £6000 made her a very important person in her husband's family. Her marriage, though much ridiculed at the time on account of the mature years and decided corpulence of both bride and bridegroom, seems to have added considerably to the happiness of an otherwise somewhat dreary life.

The Princess Mary was born in 1776 and survived till April 1857, having completed her eighty-first year. In 1816, the Princess being then forty, married her cousin William Duke of Gloucester, who was the son of her father's younger brother, and who was born in the same year as herself. It is said that there was an attachment of long standing between the cousins which had been opposed by the King and Queen, who, so it is alleged, at one time contemplated marrying the Prince to their granddaughter Princess Charlotte of Wales, who was Princess Mary's niece. The Duke died in 1834, and his widow, who is the "Aunt Mary" frequently referred to in the Royal Memoirs which have from time to time been published by the late Queen Victoria and members of her family, was regarded with great affection by all her relatives and friends, and enjoyed a widespread and well merited popularity. Her husband does not appear to have been a very brilliant person, and is indeed occasionally referred to in contemporary letters by the not very complimentary nickname of "Silly Billy." The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester had no issue.

Princess Sophia was born in 1777 and never married. She died in her seventy-first year in 1848, having been for many years a great invalid.

Princess Amelia, the youngest, and it is said the favourite daughter of King George, was born in 1773 and died unmarried in 1810 in her twenty-eighth year. She is universally described as a very charming woman, and the grief of her aged father at her death was very great, and was the immediate cause of the illness which made his final retirement from power

necessary. On her death-bed the Princess Amelia wrote some verses beginning,

“Unthinking, idle, wild and young,”

which when I was a boy were largely quoted and much admired, and which I still think to be rather graceful.

Of the six daughters of George III., two, the Princesses Charlotte and Elizabeth, died and are buried on the Continent, three, the Princesses Augusta, Mary, and Amelia, are buried at Windsor, and one, Princess Sophia, is buried in the cemetery at Kensal Green.



CHAPTER XLIV.

GEORGE IV.—CAROLINE OF BRUNSWICK.—FREDERIC DUKE OF YORK.—WILLIAM IV.—QUEEN ADELAIDE.—EDWARD DUKE OF KENT.—ERNEST I., KING OF HANOVER AND DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

GEORGE IV., eldest son of George III., was born on August the 12th, 1762. In November 1810 his youngest sister, the Princess Amelia, died, and consequent on the grief caused by that sad event the mental powers of the old King, then in his seventy-third year, which had for some little time given signs of failure, gave way altogether. It thus became necessary to appoint a Regent, and in January 1811 the Prince of Wales, then in his forty-ninth year, became, and he remained until his father's death in January 1820, practically Sovereign, under the title of Prince Regent. George IV. ascended the Throne on the death of his father, and reigned as King till his own death on the 26th of June 1830. He was fifty-seven when he became King, and sixty-seven when he died. He is buried at Windsor.

Notwithstanding that the military and political events of his reign are of the highest importance, King George IV. was not a Prince of whom personally any nation could be proud, and the profligacy, for I can use no other word, of his private life did much to undo the good example set by his father.

In April 1795 George, then Prince of Wales and in his thirty-third year, married his cousin, the Princess Caroline, youngest daughter of his father's eldest sister, Augusta Duchess of Brunswick. (See *ante*.)

Since the publication of a book "Mrs. FitzHerbert and George IV.," by W. H. Wilkins (which it may be assumed

everyone interested in history has read), there can I think be no doubt that a marriage had been celebrated between the then Prince of Wales and Mrs. FitzHerbert. This marriage was no doubt invalid by virtue of the Royal Marriage Act, but the conduct of the Prince in the matter must I think be admitted by everyone to have been very bad. Mrs. FitzHerbert herself seems to have been a very admirable woman, who behaved with dignity and extraordinary forbearance under very trying circumstances, and it would have been well for everyone concerned, if George IV. had never married or rather gone through the form of marriage with Caroline of Brunswick, and Mrs. FitzHerbert had been allowed to hold the same position at his Court which in the previous century Madame de Maintenon had held at that of Louis XIV.

The Princess Caroline of Brunswick, who was born in May 1768, was at the date of her marriage within a month of completing her twenty-seventh year. She was a handsome woman in a very coarse style, but her education had been much neglected, and she had been brought up in a small Court, of which both the manners and the principles left much to be desired. Being, as it would appear, a woman without any judgment or natural refinement, her first appearance seems to have created a very unpleasant impression at the English Court, and this impression she had neither the discretion nor the tact to remove in succeeding years. The Prince of Wales, whose affections, such as they were, were given elsewhere, and who had only consented to marry as a means of getting his debts paid by the nation, received his bride in a manner that was almost openly insulting, and the position of the Princess, who seems to have had and to have made few friends in England, became almost immediately truly forlorn.

On March the 7th, 1796, the Princess gave birth to her only child, Princess Charlotte of Wales, and immediately after that event a separation between the Prince and Princess of Wales took place. This separation was the result of a

letter written by the Prince to the Princess after her confinement in which he simply refused to live with her again. The Princess can hardly be said to have acquiesced in, still less to have consented to, this arrangement, but she had no support from her husband's family, and had no practical alternative but to submit, and thenceforth for many years she lived a lonely and neglected life, studiously avoided by her husband, allowed to see her child but seldom and under many restrictions, surrounded, as it would appear, by spies, and treated by the Court with, at the best, the most cold and formal politeness. Certainly if this state of things was not intended to make her forget her duties as a wife, it was eminently conducive to that result. In fact during this period the Princess' conduct was more than once seriously called in question, but nothing wrong was established. (See "The Book," published in 1813, which gives an account of a private enquiry made at the instance of the Prince of Wales into the Princess' conduct, and which in my opinion places him and his advisers in a most odious light.)

In 1814 Caroline was allowed to leave England for the Continent, where she remained for the next six years travelling from place to place, and followed by a small retinue of persons who were for the most part of very inferior rank and character. Whatever may have been the case while she was in England, there cannot, in my opinion, be any doubt that her life on the Continent was not that of a virtuous or modest woman, and indeed her conduct was a source of constant scandal and mortification to Englishmen in every country she visited. Nevertheless, when on the accession of George IV., Caroline, now Queen, returned to England, she was received by the populace with every mark of enthusiasm. King George, who had opposed his consort's return by every means in his power, immediately sent to the House of Lords certain documents bearing on the Queen's behaviour abroad, which he directed the Peers to investigate. A committee was accordingly appointed for this purpose, but Caroline, having protested against any secret enquiry, a Bill of "Pains

and Penalties" to deprive Caroline of her rights as Queen Consort and to dissolve her marriage with the King was, in July 1820, introduced into the House of Lords. Thereupon the Lords having resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House, it was determined to hear evidence for and against the charges made against the Queen, and what is known as the "trial" of Queen Caroline commenced. It continued for many weeks, during which the public was in a great state of excitement, and the Court party extremely uneasy. It cannot, I think, be doubted by any one who takes the trouble to wade through the disgusting mass of evidence produced on this occasion, that the charges of misconduct were substantially made out; but public opinion ran strongly in favour of the Queen, and the Bill, which passed the second reading in the Lords by a substantial majority, only passed its third reading by the greatly reduced majority of nine. As the Queen's party was far stronger in the House of Commons than in the Upper House, the King was advised rather to abandon the Bill altogether than to court defeat in the lower House. This he accordingly did, and Caroline remained in fact Queen, though she was deprived of all the advantages of that position.

In the following year, 1821, preparations having been made for the King's Coronation, Caroline demanded to share in that ceremony. This being refused she, on the morning of the day fixed, presented herself at Westminster Abbey and was refused admittance amidst a scene of great turmoil and confusion. This, however, was the closing event in her life, for a few days later, she was taken ill at the theatre, and after a short illness she died on the 7th of August 1821, in her fifty-third year.

In her will the Queen desired that she should be buried at Brunswick, and directions were given by the King for the conveyance of her body from Hammersmith, where she died, to Harwich by comparatively unfrequented routes. The populace was, however, determined to make a last demonstration in her favour,—the funeral cortege was stopped, and the

hearse was escorted through the city of London with every mark of most unseemly popular triumph. Queen Caroline's body was then conveyed to Brunswick, where she is buried.

The popularity enjoyed by Queen Caroline was certainly not due to any particular virtues or graces of her own, but in part to the cordial dislike of her husband, which was almost universally felt, and in part to that rough, though often illogical and indiscriminate, sense of fair play which is generally to be found in the English public. It was felt on all sides that King George was not a man who could appear with clean hands as the advocate of public morals or domestic virtue, and that whatever might have been the conduct of the Queen in her later life, she had, on her first coming to England, and indeed throughout her married life, been treated with, to say the least, great harshness.

The only child of this ill-fated marriage, a marriage which brought more or less discredit on every one connected with it, was the Princess Charlotte, who was born, as has been said, on the 7th of March 1796. Twenty years later, in May 1816, the Princess married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and a year later she died in her first confinement on the 10th of December 1817, her child being dead at its birth. The Princess, who was in her twenty-second year when she died, is buried at Windsor.

To her husband, who survived her, I must refer again.

Princess Charlotte is usually described as a brilliant and amiable young woman, but notwithstanding the compassion caused by her early death, under most melancholy circumstances, the anecdotes that are told of her do not place her to my mind in a wholly attractive light, and at all events I must confess, that I do not regard it as a misfortune that the Crown of England did not pass to the daughter of George IV. and Caroline of Brunswick.

The six younger sons of George III. appear to have been with some differences, all of them, kind hearted and good natured men, but they were not men of any marked ability; they were all, or nearly all, too much under the influence of

their elder brother, and it can hardly be said that their public services were as a rule very valuable.

Prince Frederic, the eldest of the six, was born in August 1763, and in the following year was elected Lay Bishop of Osnaburg in Hanover. He was created Duke of York and Albany in 1784, when he came of age, and he died in January 1827, three years before his brother George IV., in his sixty-fourth year. The Duke of York was a soldier, and from time to time held high military offices, not altogether with credit to himself or benefit to the nation. He took much interest in politics, and as after the death of his niece, Princess Charlotte, in 1817, he was for nearly ten years heir presumptive to the Throne,—his political opinions were regarded with much anxiety by the different parties in the State. He appears, however, to have been a man of no great personal weight, and the fact that he did not survive his brother was not a matter of general regret. His military achievements, such as they were, and the scandals connected with his administration of the War Office, are matters of general history, and too well known to make it necessary to refer to them in this work. In September 1791, when the Duke was twenty-eight, he married the Princess Frederica of Prussia, who was born in 1767, and was then about twenty-four.

In 1765 Frederic William II. of Prussia (then Prince Frederic William and heir presumptive to his uncle, Frederic II. or "the Great") married his cousin Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick. The Prince was the nephew both of King Frederick II. and of his unhappy Queen Elizabeth of Brunswick, his father, Prince William of Prussia having been the King's brother, and his mother, Princess Louisa of Brunswick, having been the Queen's sister, and his wife was the niece of Queen Elizabeth. The marriage was a very unhappy one; there was infidelity on both sides, and in 1769 the Prince Frederic William, though almost admittedly a most unfaithful husband, obtained a divorce from his wife, who thenceforth was, until her death in 1740, secluded in more or less strict confinement. There was issue of this marriage

one child, the Princess Frederica above mentioned, who at an early age was placed under the care of her great aunt, Queen Elizabeth of Prussia, who brought her up with great care, and there subsisted between the aunt and niece a great affection which lasted during their joint lives. (See "Queens of Prussia," by Emma Atkinson.) King Frederic William II. subsequently married Princess Frederica of Hesse Darmstadt, who was the mother of Frederic William III.

At the date of her marriage to the Duke of York, Princess Frederica of Prussia was the eldest daughter of the reigning King Frederic William II. of Prussia. She is said to have been a very amiable but rather eccentric person, but she passed the greater part of her life in much retirement at her house, Oatlands Park, in Surrey, and she is buried in the neighbouring village of Weybridge. She died in 1820, aged about sixty-three. A small obelisk to her memory, erected on Weybridge Green, probably expresses more genuine sentiment than does the "Duke of York's Column" afterwards erected in memory of her husband, and with which all Londoners are familiar. The Duke and Duchess of York had no child.

On the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales in 1817 great uneasiness was felt as to the future devolution of the Crown. Her father, the Prince Regent, and the Duke of York were elderly men, married, and almost certain to have no children, though it so happened that both were left widowers in the course of a few years. Of her other uncles, the Duke of Cumberland had married in 1815, but his only child was not in fact born till 1819. The Duke of Sussex was married and had children, but his marriage, not having obtained the Royal assent, had been declared to be invalid, and his children were in consequence not in the line of succession. The Dukes of Clarence, Kent and Cambridge, of whom the youngest was forty-three, were all unmarried, and their five surviving sisters were middle-aged and childless women. It thus happened that in 1817, after Princess Charlotte's death, there was living no single legitimate

grandchild of George III. The only one of that King's brothers who had left issue was William Duke of Gloucester, and his two children, his daughter Sophia and his son who succeeded him as Duke of Gloucester, were both at the time unmarried and middle-aged. Under these circumstances, it seemed to be by no means improbable that the Crown of England might ultimately pass to one or other of the Princes of the house of Brunswick through their mother Augusta, eldest sister of George III. Such a possibility, however, was extremely distasteful both to the Royal family and to the nation, and accordingly the King's three unmarried sons lost no time in getting married. Their action was patriotic and highly acceptable to the public, but the spectacle of three middle-aged gentlemen rushing, as it were, in a body to sacrifice themselves in their country's cause at the hymeneal altar, caused some irreverent merriment.

William, third son of George III., was born in August 1765, and he was created Duke of Clarence and St. Andrews in 1789. He was throughout his life devoted to naval matters, and in 1828, two years before his accession to the Throne, he was created Lord High Admiral, but his services to the British Navy were not very highly appreciated by the country, not so much so perhaps as they deserved to be.

The early life of this Prince, though in a sense very domestic, had not been very edifying, for while still very young he formed an illicit connection with the celebrated actress Mrs. Jordan, with whom he lived for many years and by whom he had an acknowledged family of eight children. These children assumed the surname of Fitz Clarence, and after their father's accession to the Throne the eldest was raised to the Peerage with the title of Earl of Munster, and from him the present Lord Munster is descended. The King's younger sons and daughters were given the courtesy titles and precedence of the younger sons of a Marquis, and several of the daughters married into distinguished families.

In 1818, however, the Duke of Clarence married the Princess Adelaide, eldest daughter of the then reigning Duke

of Saxe-Meiningen. This lady, who was then about twenty-six, was by universal testimony a most amiable and gracious woman, but she was supposed to be opposed to the first Reform Bill, and was on that account for a time very unpopular. She never attained to any great political or social influence, and is but scantily mentioned in Royal memoirs.

On the death of George IV. in June 1830 he was succeeded by his next surviving brother, William Duke of Clarence, who became William IV. and reigned for seven years. He died in June 1837 in his seventy-second year, and his consort survived him till 1849. King William and Queen Adelaide are buried at Windsor.

William IV. and Queen Adelaide had two children, a daughter born in 1819, who died the day of her birth, and another daughter Elizabeth, born in 1820, who died three months later.

Queen Adelaide was the sister of Duke Bernard of Saxe-Meiningen, who was the father of the present Duke George II., and it may be mentioned that the eldest son of Duke George is married to Queen Victoria's eldest granddaughter, the Princess Charlotte of Prussia, who is the sister of the German Emperor William II. In her later life Queen Adelaide to a certain extent adopted Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, whose mother Princess Ida of Saxe-Meiningen was her sister, and who was for many years a prominent person in London society. He married Lady Augusta Lennox, a daughter of the fifth Duke of Richmond, and died some years ago without issue.

Edward Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., and father of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, was born on the 7th of November 1767, and was created Duke of Kent and Strathearn in 1799. Less is known of this Prince, in whom we naturally feel much interest, than of any of his brothers, for the reason that, except as a boy, and during two or three brief visits, his life was passed out of England. As a youth of eighteen he was sent to complete his education, first to

Hanover, and then to Geneva ; and having entered the army, he spent a considerable part of his early manhood with his regiments in Gibraltar, Canada, the West Indies, and other British Colonies. He is said to have been devoted to military matters, and to have acquired great technical skill, and on the occasion of the reduction of St. Lucia, where he was actively employed, he behaved with gallantry and credit. In 1816 his health having to some extent given way, and the provision for the younger sons of the Sovereign not being large, he went to Brussels, where he was living in great retirement at the date of Princess Charlotte's death. In the following year, 1818, he was married, first at Coburg and afterwards at Kew, to the Princess Victoria of Saxe Coburg, who was the widow of Emich Charles Prince of Leningen. At the date of the marriage the Duke of Kent was fifty-two, and the Duchess, who was born on the 17th of August 1786, was thirty-two. The Duke did not long survive his marriage, for he died on the 8th of January 1820, nine days before his father. He lived, however, long enough to welcome into the world his only child the Princess Victoria, who was born on the 24th of May 1819.

After the death of their daughter the Princess Elizabeth, who died in 1821, it soon became apparent that the Duke and Duchess of Clarence would have no other children, and that the Princess Victoria of Kent, if she survived, would be the future Queen, and it is needless to say that she speedily became an object of the most intense interest, not only in the British Dominions, but throughout Europe. The position of her mother as the guardian of so important a young lady was both delicate and responsible ; and it is admitted that she discharged the duties of that position with very general approval. The Duchess of Kent survived her daughter's accession to the Throne for nearly twenty-two years, and died on the 18th of March 1861 in her seventy-fifth year.

Of Queen Victoria's relations on her mother's side I shall say a few words in the next chapter.

Ernest, the fifth son of George III., was born in June

1771, and in 1799 he was created Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale. He was by many degrees the least estimable of the brothers of George IV., and excepting that King himself, was the least popular of his family. In 1815, when he was forty-four, the Duke of Cumberland married the Princess Frederica of Mecklenburg Strelitz. This lady was his first cousin, her father Duke Charles of Mecklenburg Strelitz having been the brother of his mother Queen Charlotte, and she was the sister of the illustrious Queen Louisa of Prussia, the wife of King Frederic William III. and the mother of Frederic William IV. and of William I., who became first German Emperor in 1870. (See Table XXII.) She had been twice previously married, first to Prince Louis of Prussia, a brother of King Frederic William III., and then to Prince Frederic William of Salms Braunfels, and for family reasons the marriage gave great offence to the Duke's mother, Queen Charlotte, who (for a time at any rate) refused to receive her, and it was by no means popular with the nation.

It has been already told how in 1815 the Electorate of Hanover was erected into a Kingdom, and it will be remembered that the Kings of England from that time till the death of William IV. were Kings also of Hanover. On the death, however, of William IV., while the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and its great dependencies passed to Victoria, daughter of that King's next brother, Edward Duke of Kent, the Kingdom of Hanover, which like all German States descended only in the male line, passed over that Princess, and devolved upon her father's next brother, the Duke of Cumberland, who became King Ernest I. of Hanover.

The association between the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Hanover had not been productive of any great pleasure or profit to the British nation, which saw Hanover go from them with little reluctance—a reluctance that was not diminished by the fact that with it went also the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland. The Duchess, now Queen Frederica, died in 1841, three years after the accession of her husband to

the Hanoverian Throne, and King Ernest died in 1851 in his eighty-first year. Of his somewhat high-handed dealings with his Hanoverian subjects it is not necessary to speak here. King Ernest and his wife had only one child, Prince George (afterwards King George V. of Hanover), who was born on the 27th of May 1819, four years after his parents' marriage, and three days after the birth of his cousin Queen Victoria, after whom until the birth of her eldest child in 1840, he was heir presumptive to the British Crown.

This Prince, who from an accident sustained in boyhood was blind from his youth up, succeeded his father, both as King of Hanover and as Duke of Cumberland, in 1851, being then thirty-two. He married in 1843, when he was in his twenty-fourth year, the Princess Mary of Saxe Altenburg.

Most persons remember the disastrous European war of 1865-66, though its recollection is to some extent superseded by the Franco-German War of 1870. This war, originally between Prussia and Denmark for the possession of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, gradually involved nearly all the German States, with important results, disastrous or otherwise, to most of them. One of its consequences was the abolition of the Kingdom of Hanover, of which the territories were absorbed into the ever increasing Kingdom of Prussia.

King George V. of Hanover protested manfully against his deposition, but his protests were of little avail, and he died in 1878 as one of the numerous ex-Kings and Princes of Europe. His Queen died some years ago at a very advanced age.

The ex-King and Queen of Hanover had three children, a son, Ernest, who succeeded his father as Duke of Cumberland, though not as King, and two daughters, the Princesses Frederica and Mary of Hanover.

The present Duke Ernest of Cumberland was born in 1845, and in 1878 he married the Princess Thyra, youngest daughter of King Christian IX. of Denmark and sister of Queen Alexandra. They have a numerous family, their eldest son, Prince George, having been born in 1880. I have already

said that on the death, without issue, of the last Duke of Brunswick the Duke of Cumberland became heir to that Duchy, but as he has steadily refused to acquiesce in the annexation of his father's Kingdom of Hanover into Prussia, his right to succeed to the Duchy of Brunswick has always, so far successfully, been opposed by the Prussian Sovereigns, and Brunswick has been governed by a series of Regents. The Duke of Cumberland's father, King George V. of Hanover, was first cousin to Queen Victoria, and the Duke was therefore second cousin as well as (their wives being sisters) brother-in-law to King Edward VII. The Duke's father, King George, was also, through his mother, first cousin to the Emperor William I., and he is therefore second cousin once removed to Emperor William II. twice over, that Sovereign's father and mother (King Edward's sister) having both been second cousins to his father. The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland have always lived abroad, and as far as I am aware have not been in England for many years.

Since the time of Henry III. every son and every brother of an English King who has reached maturity has received a Peerage; but down to the present time no Peerage conferred on a Royal Prince has survived in the male line three generations, and if, as is to be hoped, the present Duke of Cumberland leaves a son to succeed him in his English titles, that son will be in the unprecedented position of being an English Peer, fourth in descent in the direct male line from an English Sovereign.

Edmund Crouchback, brother of Edward I., was created Earl of Lancaster. He had two sons, Thomas and Henry, who became successively second and third Earls of Lancaster, and the latter of whom left a son Henry (grandson of the original Peer), who became fourth Earl and first Duke of Lancaster, but left no male issue. Blanche Plantagenet, the only child of Duke Henry who reached maturity and survived him, married John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III., but John of Gaunt was only Earl of Lancaster "*jure uxoris*," and was *created* Duke of Lancaster, and consequently his Peerage

can hardly be considered an exception to the statement above made.

Edmund of Langley, fourth son of Edward III., was created Duke of York. He had two sons, Edward, who survived him, and became second Duke of York, but who died childless, and Richard, who left an only son, also Richard, who on the death of his uncle Edward became third Duke of York, and second in descent from the original Peer. This Duke of York claimed the English Throne from Henry VI. and was killed in battle, leaving several sons, of whom the eldest became King Edward IV. of England. It is commonly asserted that Edward IV. was Duke of York, and was fourth Duke in descent from Edmund of Langley; and when the present King was created Duke of York the portrait of King Edward IV. was included amongst the portraits of his predecessors in that title published in some of the illustrated papers. This, however, seems to me to be a mistake. From the Lancastrian point of view, Richard Duke of York and his son Edward were both attainted traitors, and the honours of the one had become extinct before his death, while the other, even if such honours had not become extinct, was incapable of inheriting them. From the Yorkist point of view, which prevailed, Edward became on his father's death *de jure* that which he shortly afterwards became *de facto*, King of England. Therefore it appears to me that Edward was either King, in which case the Duchy of York merged in the Crown, or nothing.

With these exceptions, and with the exception of the present Duke of Cumberland, no Peerage conferred on a Royal Prince has survived to the third, and very few even to the second generation.

The Duke of Cumberland's younger sister, the Princess Mary of Hanover, never married, and died some years ago. His elder sister, the Princess Frederica, was married in 1880 to a private gentleman, Freiherr Pawel von Rammingen, and there was issue of this marriage one child, who was born and died in 1881.

It is worthy of remark that to insure the legality of this

marriage, which was celebrated in England, it was thought necessary to obtain the formal consent of the Crown under the Royal Marriage Act, because, though the Princess was not an English woman either by birth, parentage or naturalisation, she *was* a descendant of King George II., who died in 1760.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE DUKES OF SUSSEX AND CAMBRIDGE.—THE RELATIVES OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—CONCLUSION.

AUGUSTUS, sixth son of George III., was born in January 1773, and was created Duke of Sussex in 1801, and he died in 1841 in his sixty-ninth year. It may be remarked that the name of Augustus and the title of Duke of Sussex were both new to the English Royal family.

Early in 1793, when the Prince was still under age, he was privately married in Rome to Lady Augusta Murray, second daughter of John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, who was the progenitor of the present Lord Dunmore. Prince Augustus and Lady Augusta then came to England, and, in defiance of the Royal Marriage Act, were again married in St. George's Church, Hanover Square. The marriage gave great offence to King George and Queen Charlotte, and in 1794 it was declared by the Prerogative Court to be invalid. Nevertheless the Lady Augusta continued to be regarded as being *in fact*, though she was not *in law*, the Duke's wife, and she bore him two children. She died in 1830, and shortly afterwards the Duke was again married, but having again failed to obtain the Royal consent, his second marriage, like his first, was invalid. The Duke's second wife was Lady Cecilia Underwood. She was a daughter of Arthur Gore, second Earl of Arran in the Peerage of Ireland, by his third wife, who was a Miss Underwood. Lady Cecilia early in life had married a certain Sir Joseph Buggin, who died in 1825, and after his death his widow, disliking not unnaturally the name of Buggin, assumed by Royal licence her mother's name of Underwood. This has given rise to some little

confusion, the lady being variously described in different works as "Lady Cecilia Gore," "Lady Cecilia Buggin," and "Lady Cecilia Underwood," and occasionally, by way of variety, as "Lady Cecilia Saunders"—Saunders having been one of the "front names" of her father and of herself. In 1840, shortly before the death of the Duke of Sussex, who died in 1848, her late Majesty Queen Victoria, with that sense of propriety which pre-eminently distinguished her in all matters relating to domestic life, put an end to the anomalous position of the Duke's wife by raising her to the highest rank in the Peerage, and creating her Duchess of Inverness in her own right. The Duchess of Inverness, who was greatly respected both by the Royal family and in society, survived the Duke of Sussex for over twenty years, and died in 1873.

The Duke of Sussex had two children by Lady Augusta Murray, a son and a daughter, who assumed the surname of D'Este. The son, who was afterwards knighted, became Sir Augustus D'Este and died unmarried in 1848. The daughter became the second wife of the first Lord Truro (for some time Lord Chancellor), and she died in 1866 without having had a child. The Duke of Sussex had no child by his second wife.

The career of the Duke of Sussex appears to me to be an argument in favour of the Continental system of morganatic marriages. On the Continent, or at all events in Germany, a Prince who marries a lady who does not belong to what I have called the "Royal caste," marries *morganatically*. His marriage is legal and binding—his wife and children have their distinct rights, and the lady suffers no loss of reputation in contracting such a marriage; but on the other hand, the wife and children do not take the husband's rank, and are not recognised as members of the husband's family, and the children are incapable of succeeding to any Throne, or to any Royal or semi-Royal position held by their father.

Thus, while means are taken to prevent the unlimited

increase of Royal and Princely families, and to save those families from being saddled with or degraded by unsuitable or disreputable connections, the junior members of these families are enabled to enjoy the comforts of domestic life without offence to morality or public decency. Moreover, when necessity arises, it is comparatively easy to raise the offspring of a morganatic marriage (who are admittedly legitimate) to their father's rank. This was done in the case of the Princess Sophia of Zelle, who married King George I. of England, and this has been practically done in the present day in the cases of the late Duke of Teck and the Princes of the House of Battenburg, who are so nearly connected with our own Royal family, and who are now universally recognised as members of the "Royal caste."

The Duke of Sussex had as an unmarried man, and the sixth son of the reigning King, an income which would have been altogether inadequate to maintain a wife and children in the position of members of the Royal family, and it would have been hardly reasonable to have asked the nation to increase this income for the purpose of introducing into that family ladies who, though of noble birth and good personal character, were certainly not in the position from which the wives of Princes are usually selected. At the date at all events of the Duke's first marriage, King George III.'s family was so large that if all his sons had married in their youth, and had had children, the number of Princes to be provided for by the nation or the Crown would have become altogether unmanageable. Therefore I can well understand the grounds upon which George III. refused to give his assent to his son's marriage with Lady Augusta Murray; but the only alternative which existed in England—that of forcing a respectable lady to occupy for many years the legal position of a mistress, and of bastardizing her children—was a hard one.

Adolphus, seventh son of George III., was born in February 1774, and was created Duke of Cambridge in 1801, and he died in July 1850 in his seventy-seventh year. In 1818 he

married the Princess Augusta of Hesse-Cassel, who, as has been said, was the granddaughter of Mary, Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, fourth daughter of George II. (See Table XXIV.) The Duchess of Cambridge survived her husband for thirty-nine years, and died in 1889 in her ninety-fourth year.

The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge had three children, namely: (1) Prince George, who was born on the 26th of March 1819, about two months before Queen Victoria, and succeeded as Duke of Cambridge on the death of his father. He died in 1906 without having been legally married; (2) Princess Augusta; and (3) Princess Mary.

The Princess Augusta, who is still living, was married in 1843 to her cousin the late Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, who died in 1904 (see Table XXIV.), and has living one son, the now reigning Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, who married a Princess of the family of Anhalt, and has a son unmarried and two daughters, one of whom is married to the eldest son of the King of Montenegro.

The Princess Mary of Cambridge was married in 1866 to the Prince (afterwards Duke) of Teck already referred to. She died in 1897, and her husband survived till 1900. The Duke and Duchess of Teck, who will be pleasantly remembered by all my readers, had, it is needless to say, four children, a daughter, who is now Queen Consort of Great Britain, and three sons. The eldest son, who succeeded to his father's title as Duke of Teck in 1900, had previously married Lady Margaret Grosvenor, a daughter of the second Duke of Westminster, and has several children. The second son, Prince Francis, recently died unmarried, and the third, Prince Alexander, was married in 1904 to Princess Alice, only daughter of the late Duke of Albany and granddaughter to Queen Victoria, by whom he has had issue.

The late Duke of Cambridge and his sisters, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz and the Duchess of Teck, were for so many years such prominent members of the English Court and enjoyed such great popularity that it

is hardly necessary to refer to them further. Still less is it necessary to speak of the great Queen Victoria, who died in 1901, or her equally illustrious son King Edward VII., whose death in 1910 plunged the whole nation into the most genuine and profound grief. The records of their reigns are written in many volumes, and their memory is deeply implanted in the breasts of all who had the privilege of living under their most beneficent rule.

I propose, therefore, to refer to them only for the purpose of showing how by their marriages and the marriages of their children most of the reigning families in Europe have in the course of the last fifty years been, so to speak, knit into one great family, the members of which, though their interests may differ in detail, are united by a very sincere personal regard and strong bonds of common interest. I have said in a former chapter that in the Middle Ages what are called political marriages often brought about disastrous results in the shape of unfounded and sometimes frivolous claims set up by the husbands against the dominions of their wives' families. In the present day, however, the danger of such claims is comparatively remote, and is much outweighed by the advantages arising from the constant familiar intercourse between the ruling houses of Europe—an intercourse which experience shows, does much to prevent the misunderstandings and to allay the asperities which in the nature of things must from time to time arise between rival nations, and which intercourse was greatly fomented by the kindly interest and sympathy the two great Sovereigns, Victoria and Edward VII., always showed in and with their numerous relatives.

Queen Victoria was the only child of Edward Duke of Kent, fourth son of King George III., and Victoria, fourth daughter of Duke Francis of Saxe Coburg and widow of Emich Charles, Prince of Leiningen. She was born on the 24th of May 1819, succeeded to the Throne on the death of her uncle King William IV. in 1837, and died on the 22nd of January 1901 in her eighty-second year. In 1840 she married her first cousin on her mother's side, Prince Albert of Saxe

Coburg and Gotha, who was born in 1819, and whose death in 1861 was a source of great regret to the nation ; for in spite of some jealousy and prejudice at the date of the marriage, his great abilities and many virtues had been fully recognised before his death, and have since been testified to by writers of every shade of opinion. The Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha came of the very illustrious family of Wettin, a family which had become distinguished in the tenth century, and has produced a great number of influential Sovereigns and Princes. In the fifteenth century this family and its great estates were divided into two great lines, known as the Ernestine and Albertine branches, the founders of which were Ernest and Albert, the two sons of Frederic II., called the Good. From the Albertine branch the present King of Saxony is descended, and from the Ernestine branch the reigning Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar and the reigning Dukes of Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Altenburg, and Saxe Coburg and Gotha, to say nothing of many minor Princes and nobles, claim descent. All the members of these families—or at all events of the four ducal families I have mentioned—are entitled to the title of “Duke or Duchess of Saxony,” a privilege which gives rise to some confusion.

Under ordinary circumstances, on the marriage of Queen Victoria with a Prince of the House of Wettin, her descendants would have taken their father's name, but I believe an exception is claimed on behalf of female Sovereigns to the ordinary rule, and that the descendants of Queen Victoria will take her name of Guelph and not that of her husband.

The Duchies of Saxe Coburg and Saxe Gotha were till 1826 quite distinct, but in that year the male line of the Princes of Saxe Gotha having become extinct the Duchy of Saxe Gotha was annexed to that of Saxe Coburg, and Duke Ernest I. of Saxe Coburg (the father of Prince Albert), became first Sovereign of the united Duchies of Saxe Coburg and Gotha.

Duke Francis of Saxe Coburg, the father of Duke Ernest I., married a Princess of Reuss-Lobenstein-Ebersdorf, and had seven children, three sons and four daughters, namely, Ernest,

Ferdinand, Leopold, Sophia, Antoinette, Juliana and Victoria, afterwards Duchess of Kent.

Ernest, the eldest son, who was born in 1784, succeeded his father in 1806 and became Duke Ernest I. of Saxe Coburg, and, as I have said, in 1826 Duke also of Saxe Gotha. He married Princess Louise of Saxe Gotha Altenburg, who was of the family of the former Dukes of Saxe Gotha, and who died in 1831, and had two children, both sons, who received the historic names of Ernest and Albert. When the younger of these sons, Prince Albert, married Queen Victoria, the elder brother was unmarried, and a family treaty was made by virtue of which if his brother Ernest died without a son (which happened) the Duchies of Saxe Coburg and Gotha were to pass to Prince Albert's second son. Duke Ernest I. died in 1844 and was succeeded by his eldest son as Ernest II., who married a Princess of Baden and died in 1893 leaving no issue, and on his death the Duchies passed to Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, second son of his brother Prince Albert by Queen Victoria.

Prince Ferdinand, the second son of Duke Francis and uncle of Queen Victoria, who was born in 1785, married a daughter of Prince Francis of Kohary and died in 1851, having had three sons and a daughter, through whom his descendants at the present day are very numerous. I do not propose to trace these descendants in detail, as to do so would take up much space and probably weary my readers. I shall therefore only name those of his descendants who have come prominently before the public. His eldest son, Ferdinand, who was I believe born in 1816, was married in 1836 to Queen Maria II. (da gloria), Queen of Portugal, whereupon he assumed the title of King Consort of Portugal. By this marriage he was the father of King Louis of Portugal, who died in 1889, the grandfather of King Carlos I. of Portugal, who was assassinated with his eldest son in 1908, and the great-grandfather of King Manoel II., who, having seen his father and brother massacred under his eyes, has recently been driven from his dominions. As

King Ferdinand was first cousin to Queen Victoria, his son and grandson, Kings Louis and Carlos I., were respectively second cousin to King Edward VII., and third cousin to King George V. of Great Britain. (See Table XXV.)

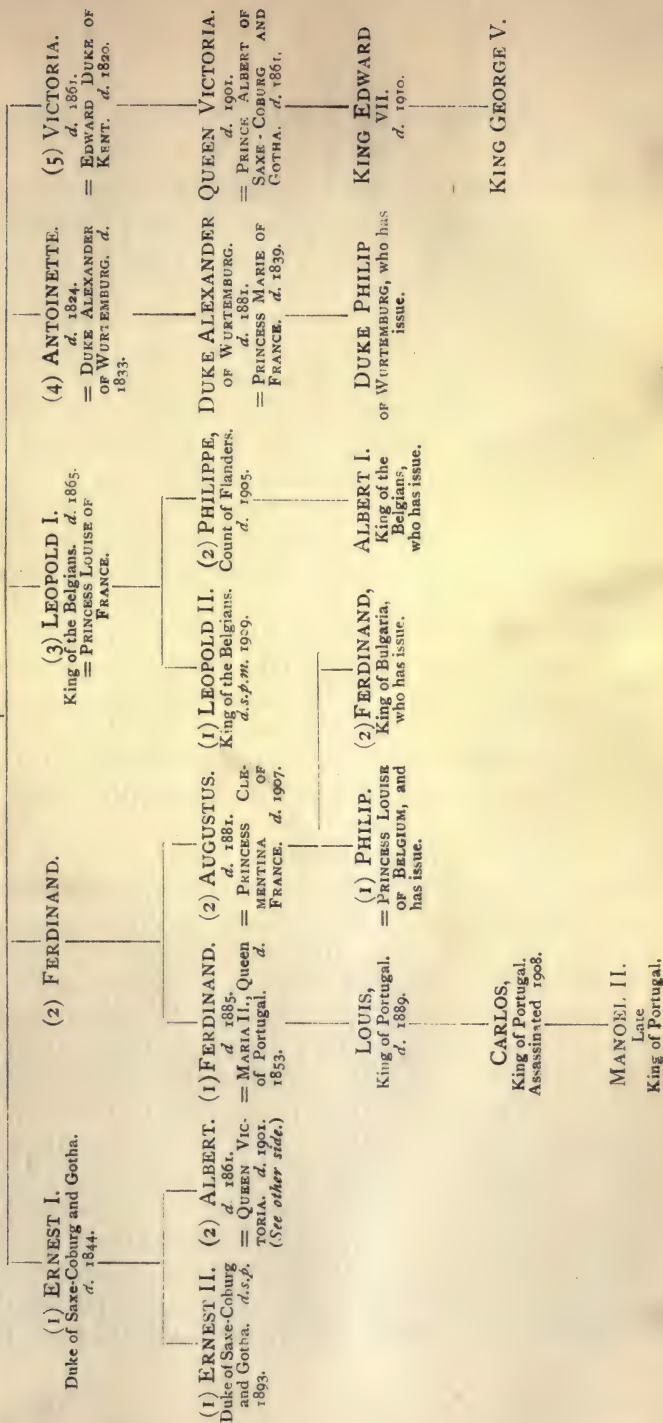
Prince Augustus of Saxe Coburg, next brother to King Ferdinand of Portugal, who was born in 1818 and died in 1881, was married in 1848 to Princess Clementine (who died in 1907), youngest daughter of Louis Phillippe King of the French, by whom with other children he had two sons who were second cousins to King Edward VII. Of these, the elder, Prince Philip, who is still living, was married in 1875 to his cousin Princess Louise of Belgium, daughter of King Leopold II., King of that country. This marriage proved very unhappy, and having been a source of great scandal in Europe for many years has recently been dissolved. There were issue of the marriage two children. Prince Ferdinand, younger brother of Prince Philip, was elected reigning Prince in 1887, and in 1908 was declared King of Bulgaria, and is now reigning Sovereign of Bulgaria. (See Table XXV.).

Princess Victoria of Saxe Coburg, daughter of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg, and sister of the two Princes last mentioned, namely, King Ferdinand of Portugal and Prince Augustus, was born in 1822 and died in 1857. She was married in 1840 to the Duc de Nemours, (who has recently died), second son of King Louis Phillippe, and she is the "cousin Victoria" frequently mentioned in "The Letters of Queen Victoria," and for whom the Queen seems to have felt a strong affection. Her portrait with the Queen in a picture called "the Cousins" by Winterhalter, is one of the illustrations in that work. The Duc and Duchesse de Nemours left several children.

Leopold, the third son of Duke Francis of Saxe Coburg, was born in 1790 and died in 1865. He was married in 1816 to Princess Charlotte of Wales, only daughter of King George IV., and after her death in the following year he continued to live in England (at Marlborough House and Claremont;

FRANCIS, Duke of Saxe-Coburg.
d. 1806.

2 U



which were settled upon him on his marriage) till 1830, when he was elected first King of the Belgians. He married as his second wife Princess Louise, eldest daughter of King Louis Philippe, by whom he had two sons Leopold and Philip. The elder succeeded him as King Leopold II., and died without male issue in 1909. Prince Philip, who bore the title of Count of Flanders, died in 1905 leaving an only son who on the death of his uncle King Leopold II. succeeded to the Belgian Throne as King Albert I. He was second cousin to King Edward VII. (See Table XXV.)

Princess Sophia of Saxe Coburg, the eldest daughter of Duke Francis and sister of the Duchess of Kent, died in 1835. She married Emmanuel Count von Mensdorff-Pouilly, and had several sons with whose rather numerous descendants (though with patience they can be traced through the pages of the *Almanach de Gotha*) I do not think it necessary to trouble my readers. Students of the Court Circular, however, will be tolerably familiar with the name of Mensdorff, though they may not know how near is the relationship between the members of that distinguished family and the Royal family of Great Britain.

Princess Antoinette of Saxe Coburg, who died in 1824, married Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg (who died in 1833), and had a son also Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg who died in 1881. The second of the above named Dukes Alexander of Wurtemberg married Princess Marie, second of the three daughters of Louis Philippe, King of the French. The eldest son of this marriage, Duke Philip of Wurtemberg, is now living and has many descendants. (See Table XXV.)

I have already said that in addition to the Royal line of Wurtemberg, of which the head is the present King and which will probably become extinct in the male line on his death, there are several "ducal lines." The present Duke of Teck is the representative of the senior of these lines, but as the marriage of his grandfather was morganatic he is not in the succession to the Throne. The third and fourth "ducal lines" have also failed, one by extinction of male issue and

one by reason of a morganatic marriage, and consequently Duke Philip of Wurtemberg, who is the grandson of Queen Victoria's aunt Antoinette, and consequently was second cousin to King Edward VII., will probably succeed to the Crown of Wurtemberg.

Princess Juliana of Saxe Coburg married the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, from whom she was separated, and she died without issue in 1860.

It will be seen from the above that the recently deposed King of Portugal and the actually reigning Sovereigns of Belgium and Bulgaria, and the heir presumptive to the Throne of Wurtemberg, are related in blood to King George V. both through his grandfather Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria, and through that Queen's mother, the Duchess of Kent.

It may be worth noting that of the three daughters of King Louis Philippe of France (whose great-grandson the present Duke of Orleans is recognised as the heir to the ancient Royal family of France) one, Princess Louise, married Queen Victoria's uncle King Leopold I. of Belgium, and the other two Princesses, Marie and Clementine, married her first cousins, Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg and Prince Augustus of Saxe Coburg, and the King's second son, the Duc de Nemours, married the Queen's cousin, Princess Victoria of Saxe Coburg. (See Table XXV.)

The Duchess of Kent prior to her marriage with the Duke had been married to Emich Charles Prince of Leiningen, and had two children by him, Charles and Feodore, afterwards Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenbourg. The families of Leiningen and Hohenlohe-Langenbourg are extremely ancient and were originally among the reigning families of Europe, but have long since been "mediatized."

Prince Charles, who on his father's death succeeded to his titles and estates, was born in 1804, and was therefore nearly fifteen years older than his half-sister Queen Victoria. He was married in 1829 to Maria Countess de Klebelsburg.

He died in 1856, his wife surviving till 1880. They had two sons, the younger of whom, Prince Edward, is still living in Austria. The elder, Prince Ernest, who succeeded to his father's rank, was born in 1830 and died in 1904. He married a Princess of Baden who died in 1899, and he and his wife may be remembered as frequent visitors to the Court of Queen Victoria. They had an only son, who is now Emich Prince of Leiningen, who was born in 1866. He was married in 1894 to the Princess Feodore of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, and has a numerous family.

The Princess Feodore of Leiningen, Queen Victoria's half-sister, was born in 1807 and died in 1872. She was married in 1828 to Ernest Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, who died in 1860. They had four children, Charles, Hermann, Victor and Adelaide. The eldest son, Charles, who died in 1907, made a morganatic marriage, and thereupon renounced his rights to the family titles and estates. The second son, Hermann, who is now the head of his family, was born in 1832. He married a Princess of Baden and has a numerous family. His eldest son, Emich, who is hereditary Prince, married in 1896 Queen Victoria's granddaughter Princess Alexandra, third daughter of her second son the late Duke Alfred of Saxe-Cobourg Gotha, and has several children. Prince Victor, the third son, came to England, where he was, I believe, naturalised. He married in 1861 Miss Laura Seymour, youngest daughter of Admiral Sir George Seymour, of the family of the Marquis of Hertford. This marriage was regarded as morganatic by the Prince's Continental relations, and the Prince assumed the title of Count Gleichen, one of his father's minor titles, and under that name gained great distinction as a sculptor. Shortly before his death, however, which happened in 1891, at the instance I believe of his aunt Queen Victoria, who regarded him with great affection, he resumed his title of Prince Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, and his wife, who assumed his title with him, and who died in 1912, was for many years recognised as a near connection of the Royal family. Prince and Princess Victor had a

son and several daughters, who under the titles of Count and Countesses Gleichen are well known members of London society. As the grandchildren of Queen Victoria's half sister they are second cousins to King George V., and they are also, as will be shown later, first cousins to the reigning German Empress.

Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, only daughter of Queen Victoria's half sister Feodore and sister of the three Princes above mentioned, died in 1900, and was married in 1856 to Prince Frederic of Schleswick Holstein, who died in 1880. The Duchies of Schleswick and Holstein are chiefly known to Englishmen as having been the bone of contention of the great European war of the "sixties"—a war which convulsed most of the European States, and involved the most complicated questions of succession—questions so complicated that it was once said only one person in the world fully understood them, and that he went mad from the effort of studying them. I may add that the genealogy of the "Maison de Holstein" (*vide* "Almanach de Gotha") and its numerous branches is almost as complicated. It is sufficient for my purpose to say that at one time a Prince Frederic of Schleswick Holstein (not the husband of Princess Adelaide), who then bore the title of Duke of Augustenburg, was put forward as a claimant to the Danish Crown, which subsequently by the Treaty of London in 1852 was settled on Prince Christian of Schleswick Holstein Sondenburg Gluckstein, who became King Christian IX. This Duke of Augustenburg afterwards in 1864 renounced his "name and rights," and assumed the title of Count de Noer. He was the son of Duke Frederic Christian, who died in 1814, by the Princess Louise of Denmark, whose mother was Caroline Matilda, sister of King George III., and he was consequently second cousin to Queen Victoria (see *ante*). He died in 1865, but on the renunciation of his rights, the Duke Frederic, who married Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe Langenburg, became the head of the family of Schleswick Holstein Sondenburg Augustenburg, and I think assumed the title of Duke

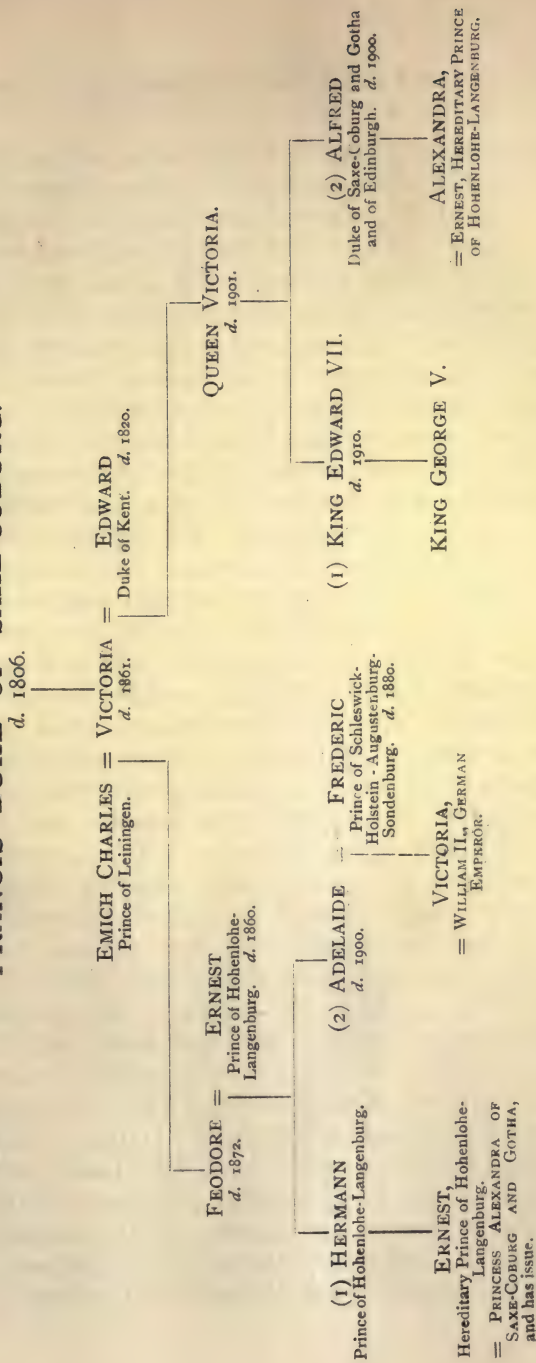
Augustenburg. There was issue of his marriage with Princess Adelaide one son and four daughters. The son Ernest Gonthier was in 1885 formally recognised by Prussia as Duke of Schleswick Holstein. He was married in 1898 to Princess Dorothy, a daughter of Prince Philip of Saxe Coburg, elder brother of the King of Bulgaria, by Princess Louise of Belgium, but has no child. Of Duke Ernest Gonthier's four sisters, the eldest, Princess Augusta Victoria, is the present German Empress. It will thus be seen that the present German Emperor William II. is, through his mother the late Empress Frederic, grandson of Queen Victoria, and his wife the Empress is the granddaughter, through her mother Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe Langenburg, of Queen Victoria's half-sister Princess Feodore of Leiningen; and consequently the German Emperor is first cousin and the German Empress second cousin to His Majesty King George V. (See Table XXVI.)

I ought to add that Prince Christian of Schleswick Holstein Sondenburg Augustenburg, who was married in 1866 to Princess Helena, third daughter of Queen Victoria, was a younger brother of Duke Ernest Gonthier's father, and is, I believe, heir presumptive to his titles and estates.

Queen Victoria and her husband had nine children, namely: (1) Victoria, Princess Royal, who was born in 1840 and died in 1902. She was married in 1858 to Prince Frederic William of Prussia, who ultimately became the German Emperor Frederic III., by whom she became the mother of the present German Emperor William II. (2) Edward, who was born in 1841, and became King Edward VII. and died in 1910. (3) Alice, who was born in 1843 and died in 1878. She married Prince Louis, who afterwards became the reigning grand Duke Louis IV. of Hesse-Darmstadt, by whom she became the mother of the present Grand Duke Ernest Louis. (4) Alfred Duke of Edinburgh, who was born in 1844, and on the death of his paternal uncle, Ernest II., succeeded him as reigning Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha. He died without male issue in 1900. (5) Helena, who was

TABLE XXVI.

FRANCIS DUKE OF SAXE-COBURG.



born in 1846, and is married to Prince Christian of Schleswick Holstein above mentioned. (6) Louise, born in 1848, and who is married to the present Duke of Argyll. (7) Arthur, Duke of Connaught, who was born in 1850, and who on the death of his brother Alfred renounced for himself and his son the succession to the Duchy of Saxe Coburg and Gotha. (8) Leopold Duke of Albany, who was born in 1853 and died in 1884. His only son Charles Edward Duke of Albany, in consequence of the renunciation of the Duke of Connaught, succeeded on the death of Duke Alfred in 1900 to the Duchy of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, of which he is now reigning Duke. (9) Beatrice, who was born in 1857, and married the late Prince Henry of Battenburg. The history of the sons and daughters of Queen Victoria is too well known to be spoken of here, but I need hardly say that they have all deserved and obtained great popularity, and exercised great and beneficent influence by their gracious manners and untiring interest in all charitable and philanthropic works. It is proper to say here, however, that the marriages of these Princes and Princesses, and in particular of the four sons and two elder daughters of Queen Victoria, have greatly extended the family connection of the British Royal Family. In 1863 the late King Edward, then Prince of Wales, married Princess Alexandra of Denmark, a lady who may be said to have come, seen and conquered the British Nation almost with a glance, and who happily still lives as the Queen mother. Princess Alexandra, who, as has been shown, is descended from King George II. through his daughter Mary Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel (see Table XXIV.), was the eldest daughter of King Christian IX. of Denmark and is the sister of King Frederic VIII. of Denmark (whose second son, Prince Charles, was in 1905 elected King of Norway, and now reigns as King Haakon VII. of that country), of the reigning King of Greece, of the Dowager Empress of Russia (the mother of the reigning Emperor Nicholas II.), and of the Duchess of Cumberland.

Duke Alfred of Saxe Coburg and Gotha was married in

1874 to the Grand Duchess Marie of Russia, only daughter of the Emperor Alexander II. and aunt of the now reigning Emperor Nicholas II., a lady who still lives. The Duke of Connaught married in 1879 Princess Louise Margaret of Prussia, a daughter of the late Prince Frederic Charles of Prussia, who was first cousin to the late Emperor Frederic III., and who as the "Red Prince" was known as one of the most distinguished generals of the Franco-Prussian War; and the late Duke of Albany was married in 1882 to Princess Helène of Waldeck and Pyrmont, a lady whose early widowhood enlisted the sympathy, and whose genial and kindly devotion to good works has won for her the great love and esteem, of all her husband's countrymen. The Duchess of Albany is the sister of the reigning Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont and of Queen Emma of the Netherlands, the mother of the reigning Queen Wilhelmina.

At the present time the grandchildren of Queen Victoria include His present Majesty King George V. and his sister the Queen of Norway, wife of King Haakon VII. (children of the late King Edward VII.), the Crown Princess of Roumania, (eldest daughter of the late Duke Alfred of Saxe Coburg and Gotha), the Crown Princess of Sweden (eldest daughter of the Duke of Connaught), the reigning Duke Charles Edward of Saxe Coburg and Gotha (son of the late Duke of Albany), the German Emperor William II., and his sister the Crown Princess of Greece (children of the late Empress Frederic, Princess Royal of Great Britain), the reigning Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt and his sister the Empress of Russia (children of the late Princess Alice), and the Queen of Spain, daughter of Princess Beatrice.

I have now finished this work.

It has been objected by some of my friends that I have given no authorities for my statements, and this is to a great extent true; but I think the objectors do not realise how very limited has been the avowed scope of my work. For the dates, which are the bones of all history, I have relied on those very valuable and learned, but not very recondite, works

"Burke's Peerage," "Burke's Extinct Peerage," the "Almanach de Gotha," "Richard Doyle's Official Baronage of England," and Mr. Courthope's revised edition of Sir Harris Nicholas' "Historic Peerage of England."

I have endeavoured not to state, as a fact, anything about anybody which is not generally admitted to be true, or at all events is not to be found in one or other of the popular works of history which are not only in every library, but, and this is more to the purpose, in every *circulating* library in the kingdom. I believe that I have mentioned in the text most if not all the books upon which I have relied, but I may say once again that in treating of Queens and Princesses I have been enormously indebted to the series of lives published by Miss Strickland, "Queens of England," "Queens of Scotland and English Princesses," and "Tudor Princesses," and to Mrs. Everett Green's "Lives of English Princesses," and that I have been indebted, though to a very much smaller extent, to Dr. Doran's "Queens of England of the House of Hanover."

It is, however, right to say that in drawing the general conclusions at which I have arrived about the characters of particular persons, I have done so rather as the result of miscellaneous reading, extending over many years, than upon the authority of any book or books in particular.

In beginning this book I disclaimed all originality, and I said, and I now repeat, that I had not and did not intend to make any examination of original documents or anything like profound or learned research. All I have attempted to do is to give to general readers some rough and ready account of the members of the English Royal family from the time of the Conquest, leaving my readers to fill in for themselves the details out of other works; and if in some cases, indeed in most, I have offered my personal views about the people of whom I have written, I have not done so from any wish to force my own views upon any one.

If in stating my own views I have said anything to wound any one's susceptibilities I am very sorry; and I should be especially sorry if in speaking of the failings of the illustrious

dead I have caused any pain to their living descendants. It is one of the many penalties of high position in the world that the personal history and characters of great personages, and of their ancestors and relations, must of necessity be subjected to observation and comment which they would escape if those personages were not distinguished; but in dealing with recent Sovereigns and their families, I have endeavoured to steer between the risk of giving offence by speaking truths which would give pain, and the risk of appearing to be a flatterer by concealing or slurring over facts too well known to be ignored.

I will conclude by asking the indulgence of my readers for the many errors which I am sure there *must* be in a work purporting to give the history of many hundreds of persons whose lives, taken altogether, have extended over more than eight centuries.

FINIS.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

TABLE	PAGE	TABLE	PAGE
I. vol. i.	15	XIV. vol. i.	343
II. "	19	XV. "	362
III. "	109	XVI. vol. ii.	549
IV. "	115	XVII. "	551
V. "	120	XVIII. "	553
VI. "	135	XIX. "	565
VII. "	163	XX. "	567
VIII. "	171	XXI. "	607
IX. "	181	XXII. "	611
X. "	187	XXIII. "	617
XI. "	205	XXIV. "	625
XII. "	245	XXV. "	673
XIII. "	299	XXVI. "	679

INDEX TO PRINCIPAL PERSONS REFERRED TO.

- ADELA Countess of Blois, daughter of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 33, 36, 37.
- Adelaide, sister of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 20.
- Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen, Queen, wife of William IV., vol. ii., 657, 658.
- Adelaide of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, Duchess of Schleswick-Holstein vol. ii., 677, 678.
- Adelais of Lorraine, Queen, second wife of Henry I., vol. i., 45, 46, 55.
- Adelais, Queen, third wife of Louis VII. of France, vol. i., 46.
- Albany, John Stuart, Duke of, vol. ii., 380.
- Albany, natural daughter of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, titular Duchess of, vol. ii., 537.
- Albany, Louisa of Stolberg Gledern, wife of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, titular Countess of. (See *Louisa*.)
- Albany, Leopold, Duke of, son of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 678, 680.
- Albemarle, Arnold von Keppel, Earl of, vol. ii. 514.
- Albemarle, Earls of, vol. i., 20.
- Albert of Saxe-Coburg, Prince, husband of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 670.
- Alexander I., King of Scotland, vol. i., 14.
- Alexander II., King of Scotland, vol. i., 92, 93, 105-107.
- Alexander III., King of Scotland, vol. i., 93.
- Alexander II., Pope, vol. i., 22.
- Alexander III., Pope, vol. i., 61.
- Alexandra of Denmark, Queen, wife of King Edward VII., vol. ii., 623, 680.
- Alfred the Great, King, vol. i., 23.
- Alfred, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, son of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 671, 678, 680.
- Alice of France, daughter of Louis VII., vol. i., 70, 71.
- Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse Darmstadt, daughter of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 678.
- Alphonso XIII., King of Spain, vol. ii., 550, 552.
- Amelia Princess, daughter of George II., vol. ii., 614-617.
- Amelia Princess, daughter of George III., vol. ii., 644, 648, 649.
- Anjou, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of. (See *Geoffrey*.)
- Anjou, Counts of, vol. i., 51.
- Angus, Archibald Douglas, Earl of, vol. ii., 381-383, 385, 390.

- Anne of Bohemia, Queen, first wife of Richard II., vol. i., 157, 158.
Anne Mortimer, Countess of Cambridge. (See *Mortimers*.)
Anne Plantagenet, Duchess of Exeter, sister of Edward IV., vol. i., 239, 240.
Anne, Princess (Lady Thomas Howard), daughter of Edward IV., vol. i., 277, 278.
Anne, Neville, Queen, wife of Richard III., vol. i., 234, 262-264.
Anne Boleyn, Queen, second wife of Henry VIII., vol. i., 298-305.
Anne of Cleves, Queen, fourth wife of Henry VIII., vol. i., 307-311.
Anne of Denmark, Queen, wife of James I., vol. ii., 434-439.
Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, vol. ii., 497-499.
Anne of Austria, Queen, wife of Louis XIII., vol. ii., 451-540.
Anne, Queen of England, vol. ii., 515-523.
Anne of Orleans, Queen of Sardinia, vol. ii., 544, 545 ; her descendants, vol. ii., 547-552.
Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine, vol. ii., 575-576.
Anne, Princess of Orange, daughter of George II., vol. ii., 612-614.
Anselm, St., Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. i., 36.
Aquitaine, William IV., Duke of, vol. i., 65, 66.
Arabella Stuart, Countess of Hertford, vol. ii., 396-398.
Aragon, Kings of, vol. i., 123, 124, 286, 289.
Arlotta, mother of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 18.
Arthur, Prince, Duke of Brittany, vol. i., 81, 82.
Arthur of Brittany, Prince, Constable of France, vol. i., 217.
Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII., vol. i., 286-288.
Arundel, William de Albini, Earl of, vol. i., 46.
Arundel, Philip Howard, Earl of. (See *Howards*.)
Arundel, Earls of, vol. i., 46, 160.
Augusta of Saxe Gotha, Princess of Wales, mother of George III., vol. ii., 628, 629.
Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick, sister of George III., vol. ii., 630-632.
Augusta of Brunswick, Duchess of Wurtemberg, vol. ii., 645, 646.
Augusta, Princess, daughter of George III., vol. ii., 647.
Augusta of Hesse Cassel, Duchess of Cambridge, vol. ii., 668.
Augusta of Cambridge, Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, vol. ii., 668, 669.
- BALIOIS, The (Claimants to the Throne of Scotland), vol. i., 107.
Barlow, Lucy, vol. ii., 470, 480.
Battenburg, Princes of, vol. ii., 640, 667.
Bavaria, Mary, Princess Louis of, vol. ii., 546-548.
Beaton, Cardinal, vol. ii., 401.
Beatrice, Princess of Brittany (daughter of Henry III.), vol. i., 108-110.
Beatrice de Falquemont, Countess of Cornwall, vol. i., 100.

- Beatrice (Princess Henry of Battenburg), daughter of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 680.
- Beaufort, Henry, Cardinal, Bishop of Winchester. (See *Winchester*.)
- Beauforts, The, vol. i., 204-209.
- Beaufort, The Somersets, Dukes of, vol. i., 209.
- Becket, St. Thomas-a-, Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. i., 57, 80.
- Bedford, John Plantagenet Duke of, vol. i., 219-222.
- Bedford, Jasper Tudor, Earl of. (See *Pembroke*.)
- Berengaria, Queen of Leon and Castile. (See *Castile*.)
- Berengaria of Navarre, Queen, wife of Richard I., vol. i., 76, 86, 87.
- Berri, Duchess de, daughter of the Regent Duke of Orleans, vol. ii., 564.
- "Bess of Hardwick," Countess of Shrewsbury, vol. ii., 392, 393.
- Berwick, James Fitz-James, Duke of, vol. ii., 503, 504, 531.
- Blanche of Castille, Queen of France, vol. i., 74, 75.
- Blanche of Artois (Queen of Navarre), Countess of Lancaster, vol. i., 112, 113.
- BLANCHE PLANTAGENET, Duchess of Lancaster, vol. i., 112, 196.
- Blanche Plantagenet, Queen of Castile. (See *Castile*.)
- Blanche, Princess of Bavaria, daughter of Henry IV., vol. i., 218, 219.
- Blois, Counts of, vol. i., 36, 37, 49.
- Blois, Henry de, Bishop of Winchester. (See *Winchester*.)
- Blois, William de, son of King Stephen, vol. i., 56, 59.
- Boleyns, The, vol. i., 298, 305.
- Bossuet, Bishop, vol. ii., 541, 574.
- Bothwell, James Hepburn, Earl of, vol. ii., 410, 416-418.
- Boulogne, Counts of, vol. i., 52, 61, 62.
- Bourgigne, Princess of Cyprus, vol. i., 76, 77.
- Brabant, Dukes of, vol. i., 130, 131.
- Brittany, Dukes of, vol. i., 35, 108-110, 173, 174, 217.
- Brittany, Prince John of, vol. i., 110.
- Bristol, Earls of, vol. ii., 444, 617, 618.
- Bruces, The (claimants to the Throne of Scotland), vol. i., 107.
- Brunswick Luneburg, Dukes of, vol. ii., 578.
- Brunswick Wolfenbittel, Dukes of, vol. ii., 578, 630-632.
- Buckingham, The Staffords, Dukes of, vol. i., 177-179.
- Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, vol. ii., 433, 434, 443-445.
- Burgundy, Dukes of, vol. i., 221, 244.
- Burgh, Hubert de, Earl of Kent, vol. i., 81.
- Burleigh, William Cecil, Lord, vol. i., 354 ; vol. ii., 426.
- Bute, John Stuart, Earl of, vol. ii., 629.
- CAMBRIDGE, Richard Plantagenet, Earl of, vol. i., 192, 193.
- Cambridge, Adolphus Duke of (son of George III.), vol. ii., 667, 668.

- Cambridge, George Duke of, vol. ii., 668.
 Campeggio, Cardinal, vol. i., 295.
 Canute, King of England, vol. i., 4, 5.
 Carey, Mary Boleyn, Lady. (See *The Boleyns*.)
 Caroline of Anspach, Queen, wife of George II., vol. ii., 609, 610.
 Caroline, Princess, daughter of George II., vol. ii., 617, 618.
 Caroline Matilda Queen of Denmark, sister of George III., vol. ii., 632-635.
 Caroline of Brunswick, Queen, wife of George IV., vol. ii., 650-654.
 Castile, Kings of, vol. i., 34, 73-75, 153, 154, 173, 195, 199, 286.
 Cerdic, Founder of Kingdom of West Saxons, vol. i., 3, 6.
 Chambord Henri, Comte de, vol. ii., 550.
 Charles I., vol. ii., 441-449.
 Charles II., vol. ii., 464-472.
 Charles IV., King of France, vol. i., 113, 158.
 Charles VI., King of France, vol. i., 229.
 Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, vol. i., 214, 215.
 Charles V., German Emperor, vol. i., 343.
 Charles II., King of Spain, vol. ii., 543.
 Charles Edward Stuart, Prince, vol. ii., 530-537.
 Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, vol. ii., 559-561.
 *Charlotte of Hesse Cassel, Electress Palatine, vol. ii., 560, 561.
 Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, Queen, wife of George III., vol. ii., 640-643.
 Charlotte Queen of Wurtemberg, daughter of George III., vol. ii., 643-645.
 Charlotte of Wales, Princess, daughter of George IV., vol. ii., 654.
 Chastelar, The Poet, vol. ii., 410.
 Chester, Earls of, vol. i., 27, 31, 37, 81.
 Christina, Abbess of Romsey, vol. i., 11, 14, 43, 44.
 Churchill, Arabella, vol. ii., 303.
 Cicely, Abbess of Caen, daughter of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 33, 35.
 Cicely Neville, Duchess of York, vol. i., 237, 238.
 Cicely, Princess (Vicountess Welles), daughter of Edward IV., vol. i., 277.
 Clarence, Lionel Plantagenet (son of Edward III.), Duke of, vol. i., 179, 180.
 Clarence, Thomas Plantagenet (son of Henry IV.), Duke of, vol. i., 219.
 Clarence, George Plantagenet (brother of Edward IV.), Duke of, vol. i., 247, 248.
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, vol. ii., 495, 496.
 Clares, The de Earls of Gloucester. (See *Gloucester*.)
 Clement XII., Pope, vol. i., 293.

- Clementina Sobieski, Princess, wife of Prince James Stuart, vol. ii., 529, 530.
Cleveland, Barbara Villiers, Duchess of, vol. ii., 474, 480, 481, 482.
Clifford, Rosamond, vol. i., 69.
Cleves, Dukes of, vol. i., 307.
Cobham, Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester. (See *Gloucester*.)
Connaught, Arthur (son of Queen Victoria), Duke of, vol. ii., 680, 681.
Constance, Duchess of Brittany, daughter of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 33-36.
Constance, Duchess of Brittany, daughter-in-law of Henry II., vol. i., 81-83.
Constance of Castile, Duchess of Lancaster, vol. i., 195.
Cornwall, Richard Plantagenet, King of the Romans (son of King John), Earl of, vol. i., 99-101.
Cornwall, Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of, vol. i., 101.
Cornwall, John Plantagenet, son of Edward II., Earl of, vol. i., 143.
Cornwall, Earls of, vol. i., 18, 143, 144.
Cornwall, Duchy of, vol. i., 144.
Coucy, Marie de, Queen of Scotland, vol. i., 169.
Coucy, Ingelham de, Earl of Bedford, vol. i., 169, 170.
Courtenays, The, Earls of Devon, vol. i., 133, 134, 278-280.
Courtenay, Edward, Earl of, vol. i., 279, 280.
Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. i., 294, 295, 296, 301, 310, 315.
Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, vol. i., 294, 308.
Cromwell, Oliver, vol. ii., 448, 459.
Cumberland, the Cliffords, Earls of, vol. ii., 377.
Cumberland, Prince Rupert, Duke of. (See *Rupert*.)
Cumberland, William (son of George II.), Duke of, vol. ii., 618-620.
Cumberland, Henry, Duke of (brother of George III.), Duke, vol. ii., 636, 640.
Cumberland, Ernest (King of Hanover), son of George III., Duke of, vol. ii., 659-661.
Cumberland, George V. (King of Hanover), Duke of, vol. ii., 661.
Cumberland, Ernest, Duke of, vol. i., 72 ; vol. ii., 631, 639, 661, 662.

DARNLEY, Henry Stuart, Lord, vol. ii., 391, 414-416.
David I., King of Scotland, vol. i., 14, 48, 50.
David II., King of Scotland, vol. i., 146-148.
Davis, Moll, vol. ii., 482, 483.
Denmark, Kings of, vol. i., 219 ; vol. ii., 434-437, 623, 624, 632-635.
Derby, The Stanleys, Earls of, vol. ii., 377-379.
Despencers, The, vol. i., 127, 128.
Devon, Edward Courtenay, Earl of. (See *Courtenays*.)

- Devon, The Courtenays, Earls of. (See *The Courtenays*.)
 Donald Bane, brother of Malcolm III. of Scotland, vol. i., 11, 14.
 Dorchester, Katharine Sedley, Countess of, vol. ii., 504, 505.
 Dorset, The Greys, Marquises of. (See *Greys*.)
 Douglas of Lochleven, Lady, vol. ii., 418.
 Dudley, Lord Guildford, vol. i., 367.
 Dudleys, The, vol. i., 330-332.
 Duncan, son of Malcolm III. of Scotland, vol. i., 13, 14.

 EDGAR, The Atheling, vol. i., 8-12.
 Edgar, King of Scotland, vol. i., 11, 14.
 Edmund (Ironsides), King, vol. i., 4, 5, 7.
 Edward, Prince, son of Edmund Ironsides, vol. i., 4, 5, 7.
 Edward, St. (The Confessor), King, vol. i., 4-7, 22, 48.
 Edward I., King, vol. i., 119-122.
 Edward II., King, vol. i., 140-143.
 Edward III., King, vol. i., 64, 149-152.
 Edward IV., King, vol. i., 254, 255.
 Edward V., King, vol. i., 260, 261.
 Edward VI., King, vol. i., 328-330.
 Edward VII., King, vol. ii., 669, 680.
 Edward (The Black Prince), Prince of Wales, son of Edward III., vol. i., 153, 154.
 Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI., vol. i., 234.
 Edward, Prince Palatine, vol. ii., 575, 576.
 Egbert, King, vol. i., 3, 6.
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen, wife of Henry II., vol. i., 65-69.
 Eleanor, Queen of Castile, daughter of Henry II., vol. i., 71, 73-75, 85, 86.
 Eleanor of Provence, Queen, wife of Henry III., vol. i., 97-99.
 Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, daughter of King John, vol. i., 101-105.
 Eleanor of Castile, Queen, first wife of Edward I., vol. i., 120, 122.
 Eleanor, Duchess of Bar, daughter of Edward I., vol. i., 123-125.
 Eleanor, Duchess of Guelderland, daughter of Edward II., vol. i., 144-146.
 Eleanor de Bohun, Countess of Gloucester. (See *Gloucester*.)
 Eleanor Brandon, Countess of Cumberland, vol. ii., 377.
 Eleanor d'Olbreuse, Duchess of Zelle, 581-583.
 Electors of the Empire, vol. i., 99-101 ; vol. ii., 581.
 Elizabeth, Countess of Hereford, daughter of Edward I., vol. i., 131-133.
 Elizabeth Plantagenet, Duchess of Exeter. (See *Hollands*.)
 Elizabeth Plantagenet, Duchess of Suffolk. (See *Poles, de la*.)
 Elizabeth Woodville, Queen, wife of Edward IV., vol. i., 255-258.
 Elizabeth Plantagenet, Queen, wife of Henry VII., vol. i., 275-276.
 Elizabeth, Queen of England, vol. i., 322, 352-356.



- Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I., vol. ii., 441, 554-558.
 Elizabeth, Princess, daughter of Charles I., vol. ii., 456-458.
 Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, vol. ii., 561-564 ; her descendants, vol. ii., 564-568.
 Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, Abbess of Harvoed, vol. ii., 570, 571.
 Elizabeth, Landgravine of Hesse Homburg, daughter of George III., vol. ii., 647, 648.
 Elizabeth of Brunswick, Queen of Prussia, wife of Frederic II., vol. ii., 655, 656.
 Elizabeth of Brunswick, first wife of Frederic William II. of Prussia, vol. ii., 655.
 Emma of Normandy, Queen, wife of Ethelred II. and of Canute, vol. i., 5, 16, 17.
 Eric VI., King of Denmark. (See *Denmark*.)
 Ernest I., King of Hanover. (See *Cumberland*.)
 Essex, The Bouchiers, Earls of, vol. i., 193.
 Essex, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of. (See *Cromwell*.)
 Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, vol. i., 193.
 Ethelred II., King, vol. i., 4-6.
 Eustace, Prince, son of King Stephen, vol. i., 56, 58.
 Exeter, The Hollands, Dukes of. (See *Hollands*.)
 Exeter, Thomas Beaufort, Duke of, vol. i., 203.
 Exeter, The Cecils, Marquises of, vol. ii., 426.
- FALSTAFF, Sir John, vol. i., 227.
 Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg, King Consort of Portugal, vol. ii., 672, 673.
 Fisher, Thomas, Cardinal, Bishop of Rochester, vol. i., 274.
 Fitz Herbert, Mrs., vol. ii., 650, 651.
 Flanders, Matthew of, Count of Boulogne. (See *Boulogne*.)
 Flanders, Counts of, vol. i., 23, 26, 41, 61, 168.
 Francis I., King of France, vol. i., 360 ; vol. ii., 402-404.
 Francis II., King of France, vol. ii., 411, 412.
 Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, vol. i., 362-365.
 Frederic I. (Barbarossa), German Emperor, vol. i., 72.
 Frederic II., German Emperor, vol. i., 93, 94.
 Frederic III., German Emperor, vol. ii., 609, 678.
 Frederic I., King of Prussia, vol. ii., 589-591.
 Frederic II., King of Prussia, vol. ii., 616.
 Frederic, William I., King of Prussia, vol. ii., 607, 608, 616.
 Frederic, William II., King of Prussia, vol. ii., 655.
 Frederic V., King of Denmark. (See *Denmark*.)
 Frederic VI., King of Denmark. (See *Denmark*.)
 Frederic V., Elector Palatine, titular King of Bohemia, vol. ii., 555-558.
 Frederic, Prince of Wales, son of George II., vol. ii., 624-629.

Frederica of Prussia, Duchess of York, vol. ii., 655, 656.

Frederica of Mecklenburg Strelitz, Queen of Hanover, vol. ii., 660, 661.

GARDINER, Stephen, Bishop of Winchester. (See *Winchester*.)

Gascoigne, Chief Justice, vol. i., 227.

Gaveston, Piers, Earl of Cornwall, vol. i., 114.

Geoffrey Plantagenet, father of Henry II., vol. i., 51-56.

Geoffrey Plantagenet, brother of Henry II., vol. i., 50, 58.

Geoffrey Plantagenet, Duke of Brittany, son of Henry II., vol. i., 65, 71, 81.

Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, natural son of Henry II., vol. i., 70.

George Neville, Archbishop of York. (See *Nevilles*.)

George of Denmark, Prince, husband of Queen Anne, vol. ii., 517-519.

George I., King, vol. ii., 592-606.

George II., King, vol. ii., 592-597.

George III., King, vol. ii., 640-643.

George IV., King, vol. ii., 650-654.

George V., King, vol. ii., 681.

George V., King of Hanover. (See *Cumberland*.)

Gerbod, Hereditary Advocate of St. Bertin's, vol. i., 27.

Glendower, Owen, vol. i., 183.

Gloucester, Robert, Earl of, natural son of Henry I., vol. i., 49, 50, 53-56.

Gloucester, Earls of, vol. i., 87, 88, 125-128.

Gloucester, Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of (son of Edward III.), vol. i., 175-177.

Gloucester, Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of (son of Henry IV.), vol. i., 222-226.

Gloucester, Henry Stuart, Duke of (son of Charles I.), vol. ii., 458, 459.

Gloucester, William, Duke of (son of Queen Anne), vol. ii., 522, 523.

Gloucester, William, Duke of, brother of George III., vol. ii., 636, 640.

Gloucester, William, Duke of, nephew of George III., vol. ii., 648.

Gowrie, The Ruthvens, Earls of, vol. ii., 427, 438.

Greece, Sophia, Crown Princess of, vol. ii., 681.

Greys, The Marquises of Dorset, vol. i., 259, 260, 362.

Greys, de, The, Earls of Kent, vol. i., 165.

Greys de Ruthyn, The Lords, vol. i., 165.

Guelderland, Dukes of, vol. i., 145, 146.

Gundreda Countess of Surrey, vol. i., 27-31.

Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, vol. ii., 558.

Gwynne, Nell, vol. ii., 482, 483.

HANOVER, John, Duke of, vol. ii., 580, 581.

Hanover, Ernest Augustus, Duke and Elector of, vol. ii., 579-584.

Hanover, Dukes and Kings of. (See *Cumberland*.)

- Harold I., King, vol. i., 4.
 Harold II., King, vol. i., 5, 8, 22, 33, 34, 47.
 Hardicanute, King, vol. i., 4.
 Hastings, The (Claimants to the Throne of Scotland), vol. i., 107.
 Hawise of Gloucester, first wife of King John. (See *Gloucester*.)
 Helena, Princess, daughter of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 678.
 Hélène of Waldeck, Duchess of Albany, vol. ii., 681.
 Henrietta of France, Queen, wife of Charles I., vol. ii., 446, 455.
 Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I., vol. ii., 539-543.
 Henrietta, Princess Palatine, Princess of Transylvania, vol. ii., 576.
 Henry I., King, vol. i., 11, 33, 39, 40, 43-46, 48.
 Henry II., King, vol. i., 56-71.
 Henry III., King, vol. i., 91, 95-99.
 Henry IV., King, vol. i., 210-213.
 Henry V., King, vol. i., 64, 226-229.
 Henry VI., King, vol. i., 230, 231.
 Henry VII., King, vol. i., 242, 243, 270-275.
 Henry VIII., King, vol. i., 282-323.
 Henry I., King of France, vol. i., 23.
 Henry IV., King of France, vol. ii., 449, 450.
 Henry II., St., German Emperor, vol. i., 7.
 Henry V., German Emperor, vol. i., 49, 50.
 Henry I., King of Castile. (See *Castile*.)
 Henry II., King of Castile. (See *Castile*.)
 Henry, Prince, son of Henry II., vol. i., 65, 70, 71, 79-81.
 Henry (of Almaine) Plantagenet, nephew of Henry III., vol. i., 101.
 Henry (The Navigator) of Portugal, Prince, vol. i., 198.
 Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I., vol. ii., 440, 441.
 Henry Stuart, Prince and Cardinal, titular Duke of York, vol. ii., 537, 538.
 Hereford, The Bohuns, Earls of, vol. i., 133.
 Hertford, The Seymours, Earls of. (See *Seymours*.)
 Herveys, The Earls of Bristol. (See *Bristol*.)
 Hesse Cassel, Landgraves and Princes of, vol. ii., 621-623.
 Hesse Homburg, Landgraves of, vol. ii., 647, 648.
 Hohenlohe Langenburg, Princes of, vol. ii., 675-678.
 Holland, Earls of, vol. i., 132, 133.
 Holland, Kings of, vol. ii., 614.
 Holland, Wilhelmina, Queen of, vol. ii., 614.
 Hollands, The, vol. i., 160-167, 199, 200.
 "Hotspur," Henry Percy. (See *Northumberland*.)
 Howards, The, Dukes of Norfolk. (See *Norfolk*.)
 Howard, Lord Edmund, vol. i., 312.
 Howard, Lord Thomas, vol. ii., 385, 386.
 Hunsden, William Carey, Lord. (See *Boleyns*.)

Huntingdon, David, Earl of, brother of William the Lion of Scotland,
vol. i., p. 21, 78.

Huntingdon, The Hastings, Earls of, vol. i., 253.

ISAAC, Emperor of Cyprus, vol. i., 76.

Isabella of Angoulême, Queen, wife of King John, vol. i., 88-90.

Isabella, German Empress, daughter of King John, vol. i., 91, 93, 94.

Isabella Marshall, Countess of Cornwall, vol. i., 100.

Isabella of France, Queen, wife of Edward II., vol. i., 142, 143.

Isabella of France, Queen, second wife of Richard II., vol. i., 158, 159.

Isabella, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III., vol. i., 168-170.

Isabella of Castile, Duchess of York, vol. i., 190, 191.

Isabella Neville, Duchess of Clarence, vol. i., 247.

Isabella the Great, Queen of Castile. (See *Castile*.)

Inverness, Cecilia, Duchess of, vol. ii., 665, 666.

JACQUELINE of Holland, Duchess of Gloucester, vol. i., 222-224.

Jacquetta of Luxemburg, Duchess of Bedford, vol. i., 221, 222.

James I., King, vol. ii., 424-439.

James II., King, vol. ii., 485-505.

James I., King of Scotland, vol. i., 213, 229.

James II., King of Scotland, vol. ii., 404.

James III., King of Scotland, vol. ii., 435, 436.

James IV., King of Scotland, vol. ii., 379, 380.

James V., King of Scotland, vol. ii., 380, 383, 399-404.

James Stuart, Prince, son of James II., vol. ii., 525-530.

Jane Seymour, Queen, third wife of Henry VIII., vol. i., 305-307.

Jane Grey, Lady, vol. i., 346-348, 366-368.

Joanna, Queen of Sicily, daughter of Henry II., vol. i., p. 71, 75-77.

Joanna, Queen of Scotland, daughter of King John, vol. i., 89, 91-93.

Joanna, Queen of France and Navarre, wife of Philip IV. of France,
vol. i., 113.

Joanna, Countess of Gloucester, daughter of Edward I., vol. i., 125-127 ;
her descendants, vol. i., 127-129.

Joanna, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Edward II., vol. i., 146-148.

Joanna Plantagenet, Princess of Wales, wife of the Black Prince, vol. i.,
154-156.

Joanna, Princess, daughter of Edward III., vol. i., 193.

Joanna Beaufort, Countess of Westmoreland. (See *Nevilles*.)

Joanna Beaufort, Queen of Scotland. (See *Beauforts*.)

Joanna of Navarre, Queen, wife of Henry IV., vol. i., 215-217.

Joanna of France, first wife of Louis XII. of France, vol. i., 292.

Joanna, Queen of Castile, mother of Emperor Charles V., vol. i., 242,
243, 343.

Joan of Arc, vol. i., 220-222.

John, King of England, vol. i., 65, 71, 83-89.

John, King of France, vol. i., 169.

Jordan, Mrs., vol. ii., 657.

Judith, niece of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 21.

Juliana of Brunswick, Queen of Denmark. (See *Denmark*.)

KATHARINE SWYNFORD, Duchess of Lancaster. vol. i., 196, 197.

Katharine Plantagenet, Queen of Castile. (See *Castile*.)

Katharine of France, Queen, wife of Henry V., vol. i., 229, 268.

Katharine Woodville, Duchess of Buckingham. (See *Woodvilles*.)

Katharine, Countess of Devon, daughter of Edward IV. (See *Courtenays*.)

Katharine of Aragon, Queen, first wife of Henry VIII., vol. i., 286-297.

Katharine Howard, Queen, fifth wife of Henry VIII., vol. i., 312-316.

Katharine Parr, Queen, sixth wife of Henry VIII., vol. i., 317-323.

Katharine Grey, Countess of Hertford, vol. i., 368-372.

Katharine of Portugal, Queen, wife of Charles II., vol. ii., 472-477.

Kendal Ermengarda, Duchess of, vol. ii., 600, 601, 606.

Kent, Earls of, vol. i., 138. (See *Hollands*.)

Kent, Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of, son of Edward I., vol. i., 138, 139.

Kent, Edward, Duke of, son of George III., vol. ii., 658-659.

Keyes, Thomas, vol. ii., 375-377.

Königsmarck von Count Philip, vol. ii., 597-599.

LANCASTER, Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of, son of Henry III., vol. i,
111-113.

Lancaster, Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of, vol. i., 113-116.

Lancaster, Henry Plantagenet, Earl of, vol. i., 116-118.

Lancaster, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of, vol. i., 118-119.

Lancaster, John (of Gaunt) Plantagenet, Duke of, son of Edward III.,
vol. i., 194-197.

Lancaster, Duchy of, vol. i., 213.

Lanfrance, Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. i., 22-25.

Latimer, John Neville, Lord, vol. i., 318-319.

Lauzun, Duc de, vol. ii., 452.

Leicester, Simon de Montfort, Earl of. (See *The De Montforts*.)

Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of, vol. i., 356-393 ; vol. ii., 412, 421.

Leiningen, Princes of, vol. ii., 675-678.

Leo. IX., St., Pope, vol. i., 24.

Leopold I., King of the Belgians, vol. ii., 654.

Lennox, Matthew Stuart, Earl of, vol. ii., 389-392, 427.

Lennox, The Stuarts, Earls and Dukes of, vol. ii., 395-396.

Lincoln, Henry de Laci, Earl of, vol. i., 70, 113.

- Lincoln, John de la Pole, Earl of. (See *The de la Poles*.)
 Louis VI., King of France, vol. i., 41, 65, 66.
 Louis VII., King of France, vol. i., 65-69, 81.
 Louis VIII., King of France, vol. i., 74.
 Louis IX., St., King of France, vol. i., 75.
 Louis X., King of France, vol. i., 113.
 Louis XI., King of France, vol. i., 220, 222, 244.
 Louis XII., King of France, vol. i., 359.
 Louis XIII., King of France, vol. ii., 445.
 Louis XIV., King of France, vol. ii., 493, 494, 540, 541, 563.
 Louis Philippe, King of the French, vol. ii., 672-675.
 Louisa of Médonia Sidonia, Queen of Portugal, vol. ii., 472, 473.
 Louisa, Princess, daughter of James II., vol. ii., 523, 524.
 Louisa of Orleans, Queen of Spain, vol. ii., 543, 544.
 Louisa, Princess Palatine, Abbess of Maubusson, vol. ii., 573-575.
 Louisa of Stolberg Gedern, wife of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, vol. ii., 536, 537.
 Louisa, Queen of Denmark, daughter of George II., vol. ii., 623, 624.
 Louisa of Hesse Cassel, Queen of Denmark, vol. ii., 623.
 Louisa, Duchess of Argyle, daughter of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 678.
 Louisa, Princess Royal, Duchess of Fife, daughter of King Edward VII., vol. ii., 639.
 Lusignans, The de, Counts de la Marche, vol. i., 88-91.
 MAGDALENE of France, Queen of Scotland, vol. ii., 402-404.
 Maintenon, Madame de, vol. ii., 524, 563, 651.
 Malcolm III., King of Scotland, vol. i., 9-14.
 Malmesbury, first Earl of, vol. ii., 630, 631.
 Manny, Sir Walter, vol. i., 136.
 March, The Mortimers, Earls of. (See *The Mortimers*.)
 Margaret, St., Queen of Scotland, vol. i., p. 8-14.
 Margaret of France, daughter of Louis VII., vol. i., 69, 70, 80.
 Margaret of Provence, Queen of France, vol. i., 98.
 Margaret of Scotland, daughter of Henry III., vol. i. 104, 105 ; her descendants, vol. i., 108, 109.
 Margaret of France, Queen, second wife of Edward I., vol. i., 122.
 Margaret, Duchess of Brabant, daughter of Edward I., vol. i., 130, 131.
 Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of Norfolk, vol. i., 136.
 Margaret, Countess of Pembroke, daughter of Edward III., vol. i., 174.
 Margaret (Queen of the North), Queen of Denmark. (See *Denmark*.)
 Margaret of Anjou, Queen, wife of Henry VI., vol. i., 225, 231-234.
 Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of Burgundy, vol. i., 243, 244.
 Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, vol. i., 270, 271, 273, 274.
 Margaret Plantagenet Countess of Salisbury, vol. i., 250, 253.

- Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Henry VII., vol. ii., 379-384.
Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, vol. ii., 384-395.
Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby, vol. ii., 377-379.
Margaret of Connaught, Crown Princess of Sweden, vol. ii., 681.
Maria (da Gloria) II., Queen of Portugal, vol. ii., 671.
Marie de Medici, Queen of France, vol. ii., 449-450.
Marie of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, Crown Princess of Roumania, vol. ii., 681.
Mary of Scotland, Countess of Boulogne, vol. i., 52.
Mary, Countess of Boulogne, daughter of King Stephen, vol. i., 58-68.
Mary de Coucy, Queen of Scotland, vol. i., 93.
Mary of Guelderland, Queen of Scotland, vol. i., 208 ; vol. ii., 404.
Mary, Princess, daughter of Edward I., vol. i., 131.
Mary, Duchess of Brittany, daughter of Edward III., vol. i., 173, 174.
Mary de Bohun, Countess of Derby, first wife of Henry IV., vol. i., 213, 214.
Mary of Lorraine (Duchess of Longueville), Queen of Scotland, vol. ii., 404-407.
Mary, Queen of France (Duchess of Suffolk), daughter of Henry VII., vol. i., 356-362.
Mary I., Queen of England, vol. i., 327, 338, 340-351.
Mary, Queen of Scotland, vol. ii., 394, 407-423.
Mary Grey, Lady, vol. ii., 375-377.
Mary, Princess of Orange, daughter of Charles I., vol. ii., 459-462.
Mary of Modena, Queen, second wife of James II., vol. ii., 493-503.
Mary II., Queen of England, vol. ii., 506-515.
Mary Landgravine of Hesse Cassel, daughter of George II., vol. ii., 621, 622 ; her descendants, vol. ii., 622, 623.
Mary, Duchess of Gloucester, daughter of George III., vol. ii., 648.
Mary of Cambridge, Duchess of Teck, vol. ii., 668, 669.
Mary of Teck, Queen, wife of King George V., vol. ii., 623, 669.
Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of, vol. ii., 492.
Marlborough, Sarah Jennings, Duchess of, vol. ii., 519-521.
Marshalls, The. (See *Pembroke*.)
Masham, Abigail Hill, Lady, vol. ii., 520, 521.
Matilda of Flanders, Queen, wife of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 23-28, 32, 33.
Matilda of Scotland, Queen, first wife of Henry I., vol. i., 43, 44.
Matilda, Queen of Scotland, wife of David I., vol. i., 21.
Matilda, German Empress, daughter of Henry I., vol. i., 44, 48-58.
Matilda of Boulogne, Queen, wife of King Stephen, vol. i., 52-56.
Matilda, Duchess of Saxony, daughter of Henry II., vol. i., 71, 72 ; her descendants, vol. i., 73.
Maud, Queen of Norway, daughter of King Edward VII., vol. ii., 681.

- Maurice, Prince Palatine, vol. ii., 571, 572.
 Maximilian of Hanover, Prince, vol. ii., 588, 589.
 Mazarin, Duchess of, vol. ii., 482.
 Mecklenburg Strelitz, Grand Dukes of, vol. ii., 608, 609, 640.
 Methven, Henry Stuart, Lord, vol. ii., 383.
 Montague, Henry Pole, Lord. (See *The Poles*.)
 Montforts, The de, vol. i., 102-105.
 Monmouth, James Scott, Duke of, vol. ii., 470, 478-480.
 Monthermer, Ralph, Lord, vol. i., 126, 127.
 Montpensier, Mdle. de, vol. ii., 452.
 More, Sir Thomas, vol. i., 345.
 Mortimers, The, vol. i., 180-188.
 Morton, James Douglas, Earl of, vol. ii., 417, 420, 427.
 Mowbrays, The, Dukes of Norfolk. (See *Norfolk*.)
 Murray, James Stuart, Earl of, vol. ii., 402, 418, 421, 427.
- NAVARRÉ, Kings of, vol. i., 86.
 Neville, George, Archbishop of York, vol. i., 247.
 Neville, Isabella, Duchess of Clarence. (See *Isabella*.)
 Nevilles, The, Earls of Westmoreland, vol. i., 200, 201, 202.
 Nicholas II., Pope, vol. i., 25.
 Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia, vol. ii., 609, 680, 681.
 Norfolk, Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of, son of Edward I., vol. i., 134, 136.
 Norfolk, Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of. (See *Margaret*.)
 Norfolk, The Mowbrays, Dukes of, vol. i., 136, 137.
 Norfolk, The Howards, Dukes of, vol. i., 138, 324-328, vol. ii., 420, 421.
 Norfolk, Agnes Tylney, Duchess of, vol. i., 313, 316.
 Normandy, Dukes of, vol. i., 16-18.
 Northumberland, The Percys, Dukes of, vol. i., 182, 227.
 Northumberland, John Dudley, Duke of. (See *The Dudleys*.)
 Norway, Kings of, vol. ii., 435.
- ODO, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, vol. i., 18, 19.
 Olaf, King of Sweden, vol. i., 5.
 Orange, Princes of, vol. ii. 459-462, 612-614.
 Orleans, Dukes of, vol. i., 159, 540-543, 562, 564-566.
 Ormonde, The Butlers, Earls of, vol. i., 133.
 Osnaburgh, Bishops of, vol. ii., 57 9.
 Otho IV., German Emperor, vol. i., 73.
 Otho, Duke of Brunswick, vol. i., 73.
 Oxford, Robert de Vere, Earl of, vol. i., 170-173.
- PAUL III., Pope, vol. i., 296.
 Pembroke, The de Valences, Earls of, vol. i., 90, 91.

- Pembroke, The Marshalls, Earls of, vol. i., 95, 101, 102.
 Pembroke, The Hastings, Earls of, vol. i., 174, 175.
 Pembroke, Jasper Tudor, Earl of, vol. i., 269, 270.
 Percys, The, Earls of Northumberland. (See *Northumberland*.)
 Perrers, Alice, vol. i., 152.
 Peter of Savoy, vol. i., 97-99.
 Peter the Cruel, King of Castile. (See *Castile*.)
 Philip I., King of France, vol. i., 9, 38.
 Philip II. (Philip Augustus), King of France, vol. i., 88, 89.
 Philip III., King of France, vol. i., 112.
 Philip IV., King of France, vol. i., 112.
 Philip V., King of France, vol. i., 113.
 Philip II., King of Spain, vol. i., 343-345.
 Philip IV., King of Spain, vol. ii., 443-445.
 Philip V., King of Spain, vol. ii., 550.
 Philip, Archduke of Austria, father of Emperor Charles V., vol. i., 242, 243.
 Philip, Prince Palatine, vol. ii., 577.
 Philippa of Hainault, Queen, wife of Edward III., vol. i., 151.
 Philippa, Queen of Denmark, daughter of Henry IV., vol. i., 218, 219.
 Philippa Plantagenet, Countess of March. (See *Mortimers*.)
 Philippa de Coucy, Countess of Oxford, vol. i., 170-173.
 Philippa Plantagenet, Queen of Portugal, vol. i., 197-199.
 Platen, von, Baroness, vol. ii., 586, 598.
 Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. i., 251, 252.
 Poles, The, vol. i., 250-254.
 Poles, de la, Dukes of Suffolk, vol. i., 226, 240-243.
 Portland, William Bentinck, Earl of, vol. ii., 513, 514.
 Portsmouth, Louise de la Querouaille, Duchess of, vol. ii., 482; her descendants, vol. ii., 482.
 Portugal, Kings of, vol. i., 198; vol. ii., 472, 473, 671.
 Provence, Counts of, vol. i., 97, 98.
 RENÉ, King of Sicily and Duke of Anjou. (See *Sicily*.)
 Richard I., King, vol. i., 65, 70, 71, 83-86.
 Richard II., King, vol. i., 156-159.
 Richard III., King, vol. i., 260-264.
 Richmond, Edmund Tudor, Earl of, vol. i., 270.
 Richmond, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of, vol. i., 324; vol. ii., 478.
 Richmond, Frances Stuart, Duchess of, vol. i., 395; vol. ii., 483, 484.
 Richmond, Dukes of, vol. i., 395, 483, 484.
 Rivers, Richard Woodville, Earl. (See *Woodvilles*.)
 Rizzio, David, vol. ii., 410.
 Robert, King of France, vol. i., 23.

- Robert II., King of Sicily. (See *Sicily*.)
 Robert I. (Robert Bruce), King of Scotland, vol. i., 107.
 Robert I. (The Devil), Duke of Normandy. (See *Normandy*.)
 Robert II. (Courthose), Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, vol. i., 10, 11, 33, 37-40.
 Rochester, John Fisher, Cardinal Bishop of. (See *Fisher*.)
 Rochester, Laurence Hyde, Earl of, vol. ii., 496, 497.
 Rochford, T. Boleyn, Viscount. (See *Boleyns*.)
 Rochford, Vicountess, vol. i., 303, 314, 316.
 Roumania, Marie, Crown Princess of (see *Marie*), vol. ii., 681.
 Rupert, Prince Palatine, Duke of Cumberland, vol. ii., 571-573.
 Rutland, Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of, brother of Edward IV., vol. i., 246, 247.
 Rutland, The Manners, Earls and Dukes of, vol. i., 240.
 ST. LEGER, Sir Thomas, vol. i., 239, 240.
 Salisbury, William Longsword, Earl of, vol. i., 70.
 Salisbury, The Montacutes, Earls of, vol. i., 155.
 Salisbury, Richard Neville, Earl of, vol. i., 200, 201.
 Salisbury, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of. (See *Margaret*.)
 Salisbury, Robert Cecil, Earl of, vol. ii., 426.
 Sanchia of Provence, Countess of Cornwall, vol. i., 98, 100.
 Sardinia, Kings of, vol. ii., 546, 547.
 Savoy, Dukes and Princes of, vol. i., 98 ; vol. ii., 544, 545.
 Saxe, Altemburg, Duchy of, vol. ii., 670.
 Saxe Coburg, Dukes and Princes of, vol. ii., 670-675.
 Saxe Coburg Gotha, Dukes and Princes of, vol. ii., 670-675.
 Saxe Gotha, Dukes and Princes of, vol. ii., 628.
 Saxe Meiningen, Dukes and Princes of, vol. ii., 658, 670.
 Saxe Weimar, Prince Edward of, vol. ii., 658.
 Saxe Weimar, Grand Dukes of,
 Saxony, Henry the Lion, Duke of, vol. i. 71, 72.
 Saxony, Kings of, vol. ii., 670.
 Segrave, The Lords, vol. i., 136, 137.
 Seymours, The, vol. i., 306, 330, 331, 372-374 ; vol. ii., 396-398.
 Seymour of Sudeley, Thomas, Lord, vol. i., 320, 323.
 Schleswick Holstein, Prince Christian of, vol. ii., 634, 678.
 Schleswick Holstein, Dukes and Princes of, vol. ii., 634, 677, 678.
 Shrewsbury, "Bess of Hardwicke," Countess of. (See *Bess*.)
 Sicily, Kings of, vol. i., 10, 75, 76, 98, 231.
 Simmel, Lambert, vol. i., 249.
 Somerset, The Beauforts, Earls and Dukes of. (See *Beauforts*.)
 Somerset, The Seymours, Dukes of. (See *Seymours*.)
 Somerset, Robert Carr, Earl of, vol. ii., 432, 433.

- Sophia, Electress of Hanover, vol. ii., 577-588, 595.
 Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia (sister of George I.), vol. ii., 589-591.
 Sophia of Zelle, wife of George I., vol. ii., 581, 582, 597-606.
 Sophia Dorothea, Queen of Prussia (daughter of George I.), vol. ii., 607-609.
 Sophia, Princess, daughter of George III., vol. ii., 648.
 Sophia of Gloucester, Princess, vol. ii., 640.
 Stafford, The Lords, vol. i., 177, 255.
 Stephen, King of England, vol. i., 50-56.
 Stephen, St., King of Hungary, vol. i., 5, 7.
 Stokes, Adrian, vol. i., 365.
 Struenree, Count, vol. ii., 633.
 Stuarts, The origin of the family of, vol. ii., 387.
 Stuarts, The Earls and Counts of Lennox. (See *Lennox*.)
 Stuart, Frances, Duchess of Richmond. (See *Richmond*.)
 Stuart, Lord Charles, vol. ii., 392, 393, 395.
 Stuart, Lady Arabella. (See *Arabella*.)
 Stuart, Prince James. (See *James*.)
 Stuart, Prince Charles Edward. (See *Charles*.)
 Stuart, Prince Henry, Cardinal. (See *Henry*.)
 Suffolk, The de la Poles, Dukes of. (See *Poles, de la*.)
 Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of, vol. i., 356-362.
 Suffolk, Henry Grey, Duke of, vol. i., 362-365.
 Surrey, Earls of, vol. i., 30, 31, 59.
 Surrey, Thomas Holland, Duke of. (See *The Hollands*.)
 Sussex, Augustus (son of George III.), Duke of, 665-669.
 Sweden, Kings of, vol. ii., 624.
 Sybil of Conversana, wife of Robert II., Duke of Normandy, vol. i., 40.

 TECK, Francis, Duke of, vol. ii., 647, 674.
 Toulouse, Counts of, vol. i., 76, 76.
 Toulouse, Raimond VI., Count of, vol. i., 76, 77.
 Tudor, Owen, vol. i., 268, 269.

 ULSTER, The de Burghs, Earls of, vol. i., 129, 180.
 Ursula Pole, Lady Stafford. (See *Poles*.)

 VALENCES, The Earls of Pembroke. (See *Pembroke*.)
 Vendôme, Princess Marie de, vol. ii., 402, 403.
 Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia. (See *Savoy and Sardinia*.)
 Victoria of Saxe Coburg, Duchess of Kent, vol. ii., 659.
 Victoria, Queen of England, vol. ii., 659, 669, 670.
 Victoria, German Empress, daughter of Queen Victoria, vol. ii., 678.
 Victoria Eugenie, Queen of Spain, vol. ii., 678.

Villiers, The Dukes of Buckingham. (See *Buckingham*.)

Villiers, Elizabeth, vol. ii., 513.

WALES, Llewellyn, Prince of. (See *de Montforts*.)

Walsingham, Melusina Countess of, vol. ii., 606.

Waltheof, Earl, vol. i., 21.

Warbeck, Perkyn, vol. i., 261.

Warwick, The Beauchamps, Earls of, vol. i., 201.

Warwick, Richard Neville (The King Maker), Earl of, vol. i., 201,
202.

Warwick, Edward Plantagenet, Earl of, vol. i., 248, 249.

Warwick, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of. (See *Dudleys*.)

Welles, Thomas, Viscount, vol. i., 279.

Westmoreland, The Nevilles, Earl of. (See *the Nevilles*.)

William (The Conqueror), King, vol. i., 5, 8-10, 21-23, 48.

William II. (Rufus), King, vol. i., 10, 11, 38, 41-43, 48.

William III., King, vol. ii., 506-515.

William IV., King, vol. ii., 657, 658.

William the Lion, King of Scotland, vol. i., 78.

William (Clito), Prince, son of Robert II., Duke of Normandy, vol.
40, 41.

William, Prince, son of Henry I., vol. i., 44, 45.

William, Prince, son of King Stephen. (See *Blois*.)

William, Prince, son of Empress Matilda, vol. i., 58.

William IV., Duke of Aquitaine. (See *Aquitaine*.)

William II., Prince of Orange. (See *Orange*.)

William I., German Emperor, vol. ii., 609.

William II., German Emperor, vol. ii., 681.

Wiltshire, James Butler, Earl of, vol. i., 233.

Wiltshire, Thomas Boleyn, Earl of. (See *Boleyn*.)

Winchester, Henry de Blois, Bishop of, vol. i., 54-57.

Winchester, Henry Beaufort, Cardinal, Bishop of, vol. i., 202, 203, 225,
226.

Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of, vol. i., 312, 341.

Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, Archbishop of York, vol. i., 294.

Woodvilles, The, vol. i., 258-260.

Wurtemberg, Kings and Dukes of, vol. ii., 646, 647, 674, 675.

YARMOUTH, Charlotte Paston, Countess of, vol. ii., 480.

Yolande de Dreux, Queen of Scotland, vol. i., 193.

York, Earls of, vol. i., p. 190.

York, Geoffrey, Archbishop of (natural son of Henry II.) (See *Geoffrey*.)

York, Edmund Plantagenet, Duke of (son of Edward III.), vol. i., 189-191.

Edward Plantagenet, Duke of, vol. i., 191, 192.

York, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of (father of Edward IV.) vol. i., 194, 235-237.

York, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of (son of Edward IV.) vol. i., 137, 260, 261.

York, Ernest of Hanover, Duke of (brother of George I.), vol. ii., 588, 589

York, Edward Duke of, (brother of George III.), vol. ii., 636.

York, Frederic, Duke of, son of George III., vol. ii., 654-656.

ZELLE, George, Duke of, vol. ii., 578-583.







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